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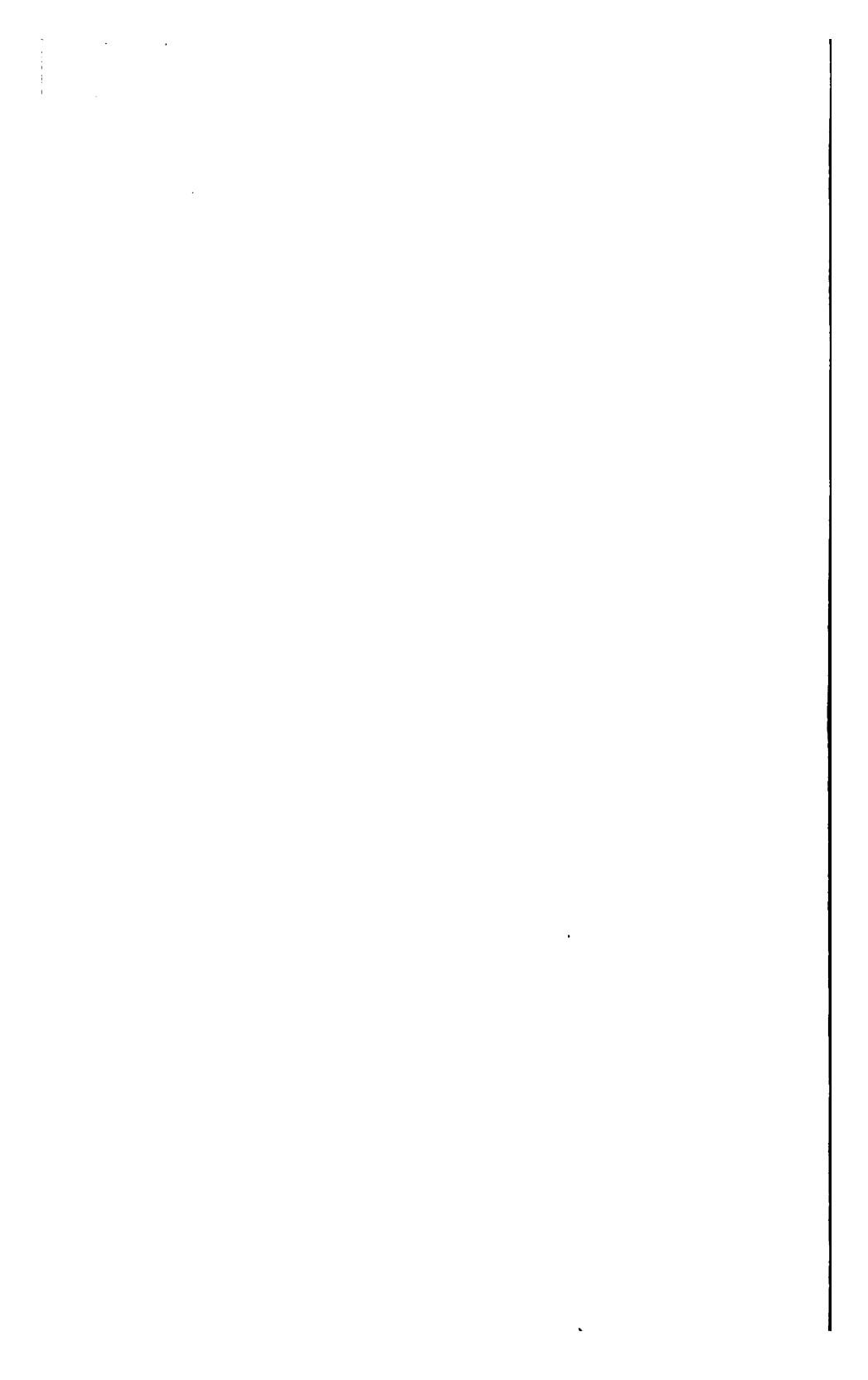
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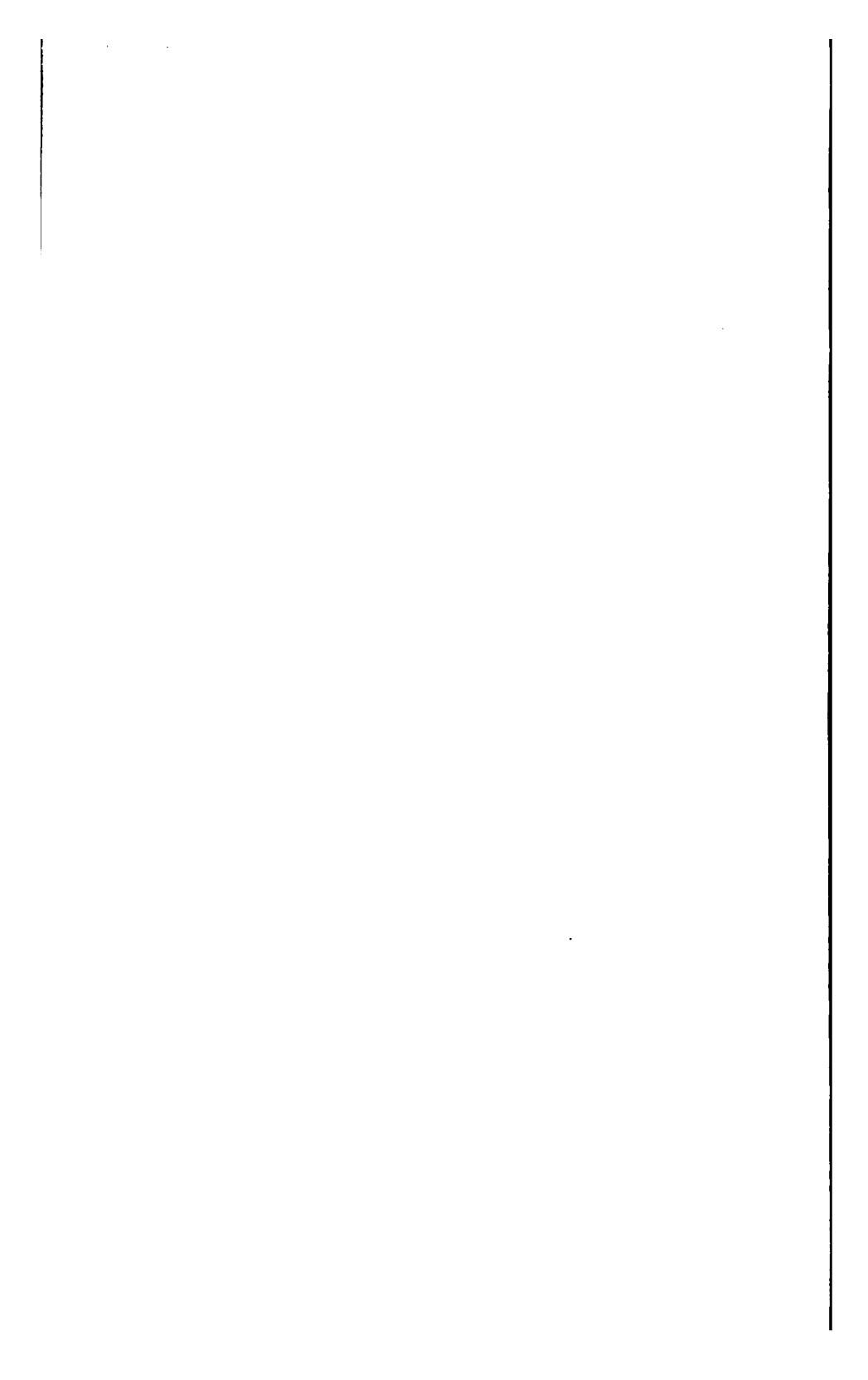


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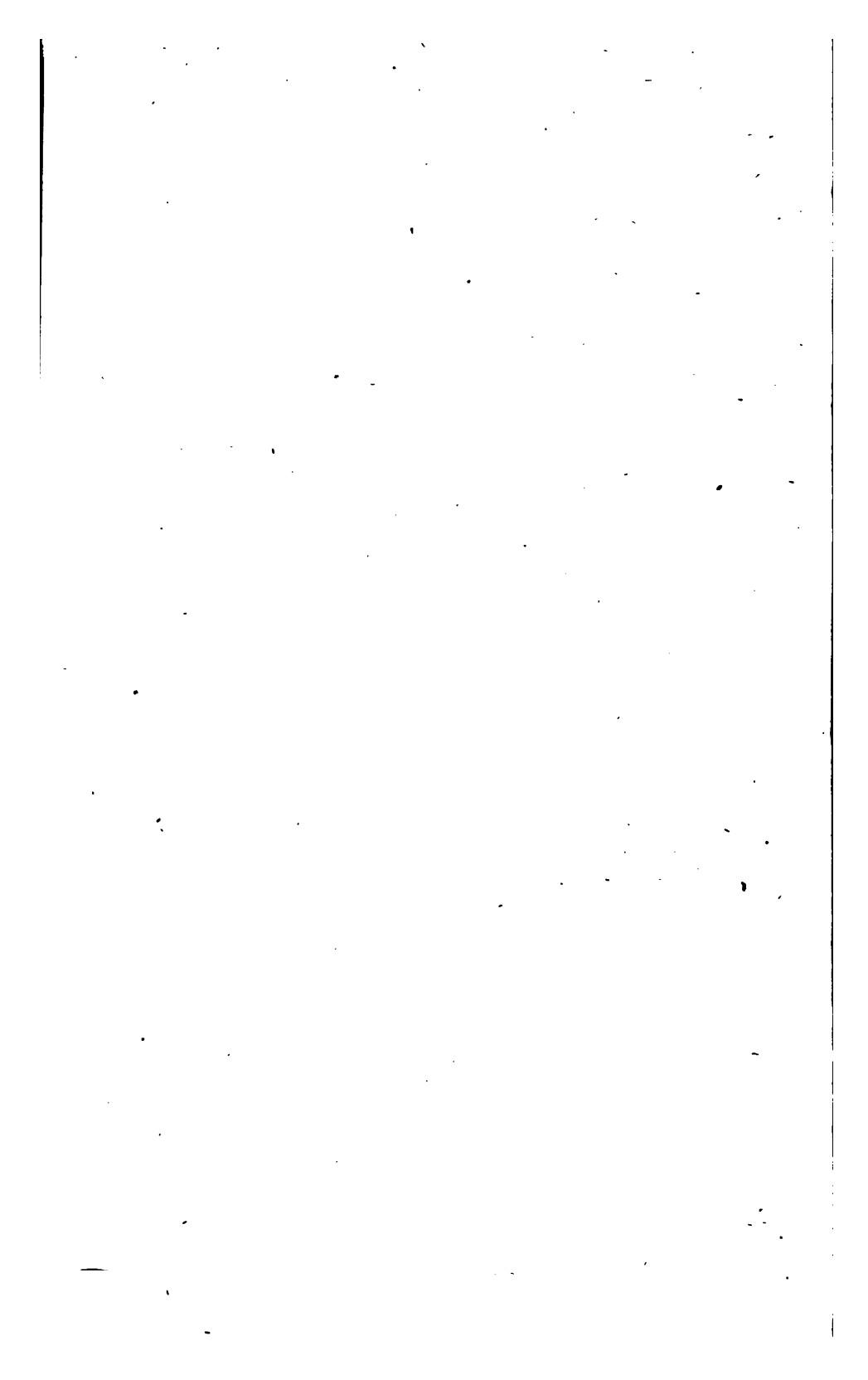
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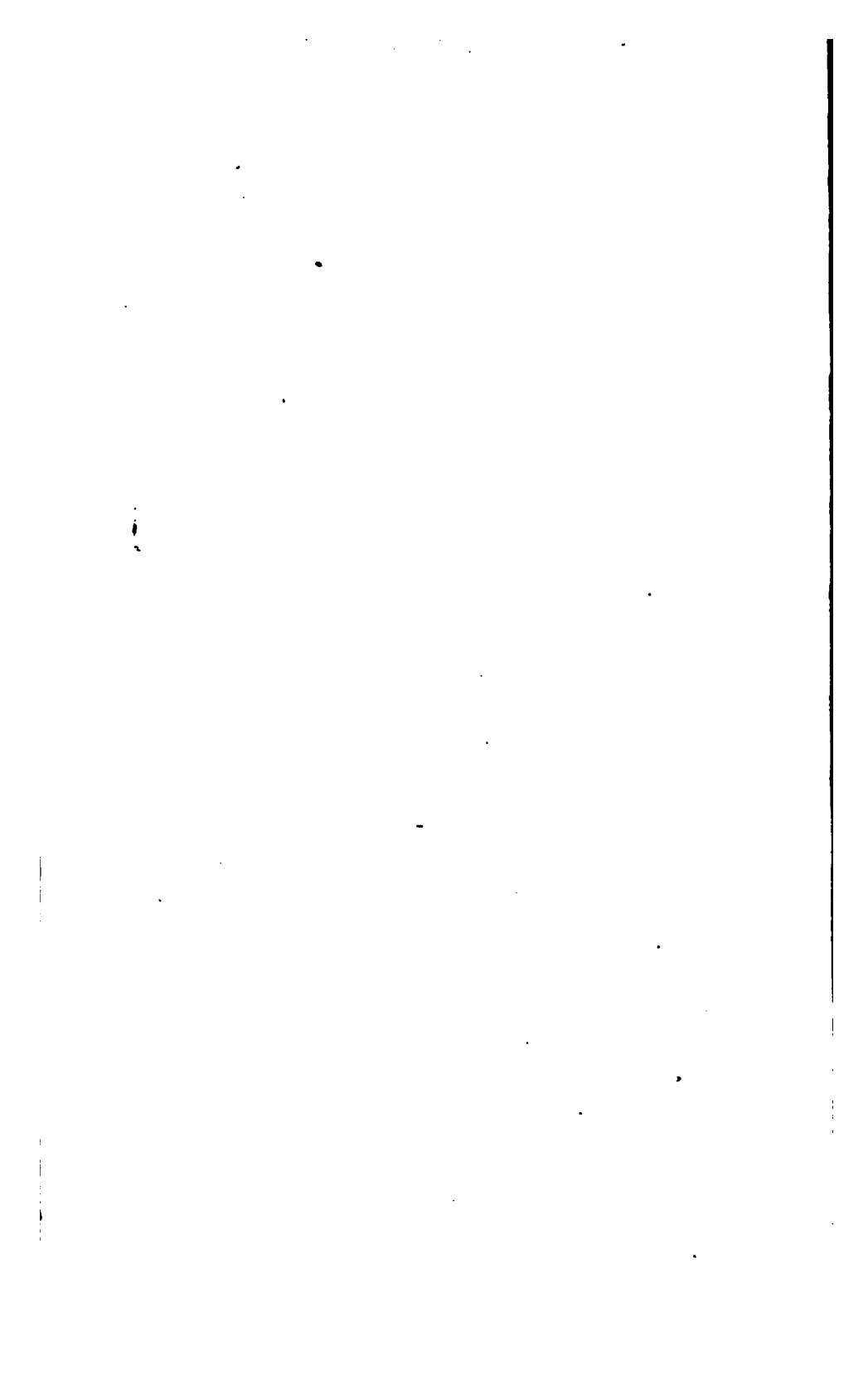
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ELEMENTS
OF
GENERAL HISTORY.

MODERN HISTORY.



**ELEMENTS
OF GENERAL HISTORY
ANCIENT AND MODERN.**

BY THE ABBE MILLOT.

**WITH THE CONTINUATION FROM MDCCCLX TO THE
YEAR MDCCCCXV, BY M. PROFESSOR MILLON
OF PARIS.**

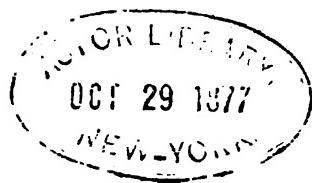
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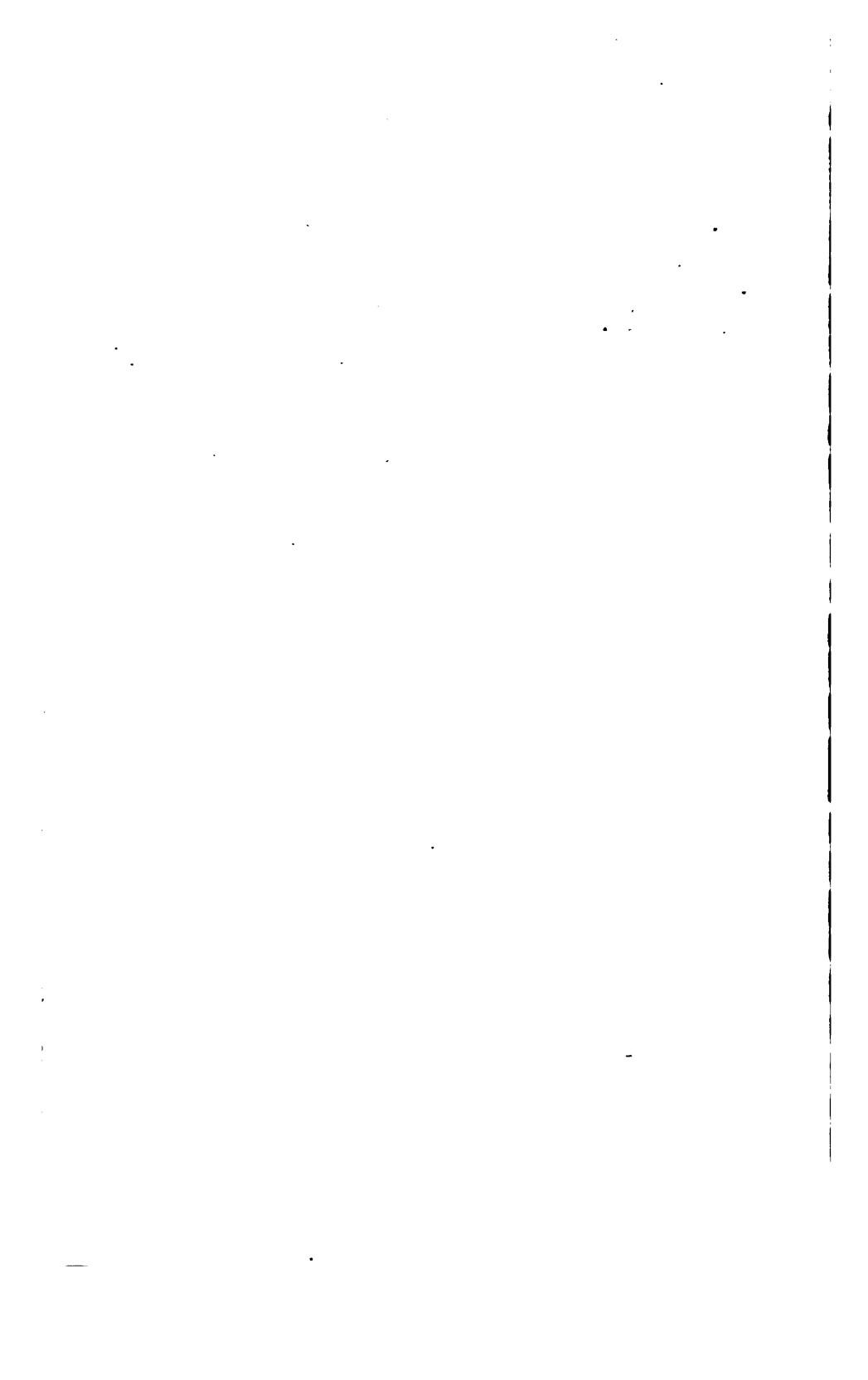
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ELEMENTS
OF
GENERAL HISTORY.

MODERN HISTORY.

CONTINUED.



ELEMENTS
OF
GENERAL HISTORY.

MODERN HISTORY CONTINUED.

SIXTH EPOCH.

CHAPTER VII.

PHILIP DE VALOIS, KING OF FRANCE. HIS FIRST WARS WITH EDWARD III. DEATH OF THE EMPEROR LOUIS, WHO WAS PERSECUTED BY CLEMENT VI.

CHARLES IV. died in 1328, without issue male. The three sons of Philip the Fair had been raised to the throne in quick succession, and his posterity in the female line were excluded. Females would probably have succeeded to the crown in France, as well as elsewhere, if there had been any examples of it; for laws and fundamental maxims almost always originate in precedents; but fortunately history did not furnish one instance. Edward III., king of England, the son of Isabella of France, and the nearest

Philip VI.
de
Valois.

relation of the late king, in vain pretended that he was the rightful heir to the crown ; for Philip de Valois, though a degree more distant, being related by the father's side, gained the decision of the peers of France ; and the Salic law was thereby perpetually established. Edward was not in a situation to go to war, and therefore did homage for Guienne.

**Navarre
detached
from
France.**

On the contrary, by the custom of Spain, the kingdom of Navarre belonged to Johanna, the daughter of Lewis Hutin, as heiress of her mother. Philip therefore did not hesitate to restore it, and her husband, the count d'Evreux, became king of Navarre.

**Dispute in
France
about
ecclesiastical
juris-
diction.**

I shall not dwell upon the famous dispute which was raised in France about ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Peter de Cugnieres, the king's advocate, presented a memorial, containing sixty-six articles, against abuses which he thought needed reformation ; and the affair was solemnly discussed. If the reasons of the magistrate were not very just, those used by two prelates, who spoke for the clergy, were still worse ; for they pretended to establish, upon divine authority, a jurisdiction totally unknown in the early ages of the church. One of the reasons upon which they rested was, that the bishops would lose a great part of their revenue, which consisted in the emoluments arising from their decisions ; and, of course, the king and kingdom would lose a very great advantage, resulting from the splendour maintained by the bishops. The interest of their body might have been varnished over with better colours. The king gave the prelates a year for the reformation of abuses, but that produced no good conse-

quence. In more enlightened days, it might have been effected by the legislative authority alone. This dispute in time produced the appeals *comme d'abus*, writs of error, which subjected a number of ecclesiastical sentences to the secular tribunals.

The folly of crusades was revived from time to time by the conquests of the Turks, who daily gained ground of the Greeks in Asia ; and their progress always afforded a motive or pretence for exacting tenths. Philip took the cross, and seemed to be inflamed with great zeal for the cause ; but the confused state of his own affairs made him very soon lay aside a design which could only hurry him into fresh misfortunes.

He had prevented Benedict XII., the son of a mechanic in the county of Foix, from reconciling the emperor Louis to the church ; by which means he brought upon himself the hatred of that prince. He defeated the Flemings, who had rebelled against their earl, in an engagement near Cassel ; and that ungovernable people secretly vowed vengeance. He had a mortal enemy in Robert d'Artois, his brother-in-law, who had contended with the daughter and lawful heiress of the last count d'Artois, for that county ; and had been banished for producing forged titles, and refusing to appear before the parliament. Robert, provoked by this treatment, took shelter with Edward III., king of England, and inspired him with a resolution to attack France. The famous Artevelle of Ghent, a brewer of beer, was the chief of the Flemish rebels, and contributed more than any to prevail with Edward to make the at-

Fruitless
project of a
crusade.

Enemies
of Philip de
Valois.

tempt ; and, to remove the scruples of the Flemings, who had sworn not to make war against the king of France, it is said, persuaded him to assume that title.

Proceedings
and
pretences
of
Edward.

Edward was a valiant, ambitious prince, and a profound politician ; he knew how to turn every thing to his own advantage, and employed equal address and vigour to accomplish his purposes. David Bruce, king of Scotland, who had been dethroned by him, having found an asylum with Philip, he made that a pretence for going to war, though, at the same time, he protected Robert d'Artois. The sentence of the peers, by which he had been excluded from the throne, was his principal reason ; though he had solemnly acknowledged the king, by doing homage to him for Guienne. He passed into Flanders to encourage his allies, and then went to Cologne, where the emperor made him vicar-general of the empire in the Low Countries.

1340.
Sea
engagement
at
Sluys.

Nothing remarkable happened in the beginning of the war, except the famous sea engagement near Sluys, where the French fleet, consisting of one hundred and twenty large ships, besides smaller vessels, having forty thousand men on board, was defeated with prodigious loss ; but Edward, who commanded in person, was wounded. The English displayed their superiority in naval affairs, by a skilful manœuvre, of which the French were incapable. These last had so much neglected the advantages they ought to have derived from their situation upon the two seas, that they employed foreign ships, from which they received but very little assistance. Their imprudence was such as to make

SIXTH EPOCH.

them despise the long and cross bows, which were so dreadful weapons in the hands of the English archers ; and this was the principal cause of the misfortunes that followed. So much is blind courage inferior to skill.

Edward, after his great victory at Sluys, though at the head of a hundred thousand men, could not make himself master of Tournay. Having sent a challenge to Philip, in which he did not give him the title of king, Philip replied, that a vassal was not entitled to defy his sovereign ; but, however, he was willing to accept the challenge, upon condition that the kingdom of England, as well as that of France, should be the prize. Both princes were equally brave ; but there was no probability that they would try such a hazardous adventure.

Edward, in want of money, exposed to the defection of his allies, and the pressing demands of his creditors, was under the necessity of withdrawing privately, almost like a fugitive. It was owing to the subsidies being paid in grain and merchandise, of which the receipt was slow, and the sale still slower ; for, at that time, the means of finding ready resources for pressing occasions were unknown. Hostilities were suspended by a truce ; but the ambition of Edward was always awake.

The disturbances which were raised in Bretagne were favourable to his designs. The count de Montfort contended for that duchy with the count de Blois, nephew of Philip, and husband of Johanna de Penthièvre, heiress of the last duke. The king of England declared in favour of Montfort, because Philip supported the cause of his nephew ; and they again

Defeats
sent
to Philip.

Edward
fails in
his
attempts.

War
rekindled.

took up arms. A second truce was likewise violated upon a slighter pretence. Some French nobility, who were of Edward's party, being illegally put to death, furnished that prince with the pretence which he undoubtedly wanted.

1346.
Invasion
of
Normandy.
Battle
of
Creci.

He had already embarked for Guienne, which was become the theatre of the war, when Geoffrey d'Harcourt, a Norman refugee, gave him the fatal advice to seize Normandy ; and, as no precaution had been taken to prevent him, he carried it almost without opposition. He advanced as far as the gates of Paris ; but being at last pushed by a French army with the king at their head, he retired towards Flanders, into which he was followed by superior forces, but destitute both of skill and military discipline ; and, being attacked at Creci, he gained that famous battle, in which France lost about thirty thousand men, and the flower of her nobility. He then made haste to lay siege to Calais, a seaport of the greatest importance, of which he made himself master, by his inflexible constancy, after a siege of eleven months.

1358.
Pragmatic
sanction,
establishing
the in-
dependence
of
the empire.

John of Luxembourg, King of Bohemia, the ally of Philip, and mortal enemy of the emperor Louis V., though old and blind, fought and was killed at the battle of Creci. The quarrel between the emperor and the popes still continued. To please the king of France, Benedict XII. refused absolution to that prince ; upon which, the diets of Ratisbon and Frankfurt, in the year 1358, established, by a pragmatic sanction, that a majority of suffrages, in the electoral college, gave a right to the empire, without the consent of the Holy See ; that the pope had no right of superiority over

the emperors of Germany, nor to approve or reject their elections ; and that, to maintain the contrary, was treason. They prohibited all commerce with the court of Avignon, the receiving its bulls, or paying any regard to the censures fulminated against the emperor. They refuted the absurd claim of the popes, who called themselves vicars of the empire during a vacancy, and declared that, from ancient custom, that privilege belonged to the count palatine of the Rhine.

The decrees of a free people in favour of a dignity to which the popes had been formerly subjected, could not at first prevail over an opinion which was supported by censures. Clement VI., a native of the Limousin, and successor of Benedict XII., was so haughty and enterprising, that he said, *his predecessors did not know how to be popes.* He began his reign, in 1343, by renewing all the sentences which had been pronounced against Louis of Bavaria, and appointing a vicar-general of the empire in Lombardy. Louis again lost his former steadiness, and sent ambassadors to the pontiff, who insisted, as preliminaries of accommodation, that he should resign the imperial dignity, abrogate the last pragmatic, acknowledge the empire a fief of the Holy See, and deliver up Occam, and some other Franciscans, who had written against the pontifical claims.

The Germans, provoked at these articles, declared, in a diet, that they were injurious to the empire ; but the pope found means, by his intrigues, to stir up the electors against the emperor, after having commanded a new election. In 1346, Charles, margrave of Moravia, and

Clement VI.
still
persecutes
Louis
of
Bavaria.

Charles IV.
chosen
emperor.
Death of
the
emperor
Louis.
1347.

eldest son of John, king of Bohemia, was chosen. The archbishop of Cologne sold his vote for eight thousand merks of silver. The archbishop of Mentz, being attached to the emperor, was deposed by Clement, who caused a young man, upon whom he could depend, to be placed in his stead ; and this transaction produced a civil war. Louis V., every where victorious, died in the year 1347, at the very time he was meditating an attack upon Bohemia. Charles IV. preserved the empire, though destitute of ability to support it with vigour. He was called *the emperor of the priests*.

Rienzi
tribune
of
Rome.

At the time that Clement VI., sitting in his palace at Avignon, set himself up as sovereign of Germany, and by one of his bulls declared, that *God had given the kingdoms of heaven and of earth to the pope*, a man of low birth, an eloquent fanatic, who was a compound of ambition and audacity, set himself up as the restorer of liberty, and the ancient Roman power. He was the son of a miller, and was called Nicholas Rienzi.

His
declaration
and
unhappy
death.

After having been proclaimed tribune by the people, and put in possession of the Capitol, he published a declaration *to the glory of God, the apostles, and our mother the holy Roman church*, bearing, that the Roman people have always been masters of the world ; that all the inhabitants of Italy are free, and citizens of Rome ; and commanding all kings, princes, and others pretending to the empire, or the election of emperor, to appear before him, the tribune ; otherwise he will proceed against them according to law, and *the grace which shall be given him by the Holy Spirit*. He took the title of *severe*

and merciful deliverer of Rome, champion of Italy, friend of the world, and august tribune. Being condemned by the pope, and persecuted by the nobles, he fled from Rome ; and having fallen into the hands of the king of Bohemia, was sent to Avignon, where he remained seven years in prison. He was afterwards set at liberty, and even employed by Innocent VI. ; but at last was killed in a sedition at Rome, where he fell a victim to the turbulent disposition of that people whose idol he had been.

CHAPTER VIII.

QUEEN JOANNA AT NAPLES. END OF THE PONTIFICATE OF CLEMENT VI. EDWARD III., KING OF ENGLAND, THE CONQUEROR OF KING JOHN.

Naples
flourishing
under
Robert
of
Anjou.

Joanna
succeeds
him.

Death of
king
Andrew.

A BLOODY revolution, which happened at Naples, procured the property of Avignon to the popes; an object of more consequence, than exercising a transitory power which they usurped over crowned heads. Robert of Anjou, son of Charles the Lame, had reigned gloriously, though his attempts to wrest Sicily from the princes of Arragon had been unsuccessful; and, from his application, laws, and justice, the kingdom of Naples was become flourishing. He died in 1343, leaving his crown to his granddaughter Joanna, who had been married to Andrew, the brother of Louis d'Anjou, king of Hungary. Andrew endeavoured to get possession of the government; but his Hungarians were detested by the Neapolitans; and a cordelier, by whom he was governed, it is said, set him at variance with the young queen; a princess who had a great share of understanding, but, from her age and circumstances, was exposed to great faults. In 1345, her husband was strangled in the palace; and, in a year after, she married her cousin Louis, brother of the prince of Tarento.

Almost all historians charge her with the murder of Andrew ; but, whether she consented to it or not, it proved the source of all her misfortunes. The king of Hungary wrote a menacing letter to her, and very soon followed at the head of his army ; upon which Joanna and her husband fled into Provence, and pleaded her cause before Clement VI., who declared her innocent. Perhaps his judgment might have been influenced by the desire of possessing Avignon, which belonged to the queen, in quality of countess of Provence, and which she sold to the pope, with all the territory belonging to it, for fourscore thousand florins of gold, to supply her pressing necessities ; but a celebrated historian pretends that the money was never paid. As Avignon was a fief of the empire, they got the sale approved by the emperor Charles IV., who was indebted to Clement VI. for his election. The king of Hungary being satisfied with the vengeance he had taken, or anxious to fly from the plague, which at that time laid waste Italy, very soon quitted Naples, and Joanna recovered her kingdom ; we shall shortly see her end her days by a most dreadful catastrophe.

Clement VI., who had been equally complaisant to the crown of France, and insolent to the empire, lived till the year 1352. Let us add some remarks on this celebrated pontificate. He fixed the term of the jubilee to fifty years, and granted a plenary indulgence to whoever should die on the road to it, by his bull enjoining the angels of paradise to free their souls from purgatory, and carry them to heaven.

Joanna
sells
Avignon
to
Clement VI.
Recoveres
Naples.

The
jubilee
anticipated
by
Clement.

During the year 1350, Rome was crowded with pilgrims. At Christmas, and during the whole of Lent, there were not less than a million supposed to be constantly collected, which was a source of immense wealth.

Fanaticism
of the
flagellants.

A general plague, with which all Europe was infected, undoubtedly inspired devotion, and gave birth to a sect of fanatical flagellants, of every age and sex, who ran about every where mangling their bodies with stripes, in hopes by these means to disarm the Divine wrath. Similar extravagances had been seen in Italy before. The pope excommunicated these madmen, who were admired by other people, and, from being penitents, degenerated into robbers.

Satirical
letter
addressed
to the pope.

A little before his death, Clement received a satirical letter, inscribed, *Leviathan, prince of darkness, to his vicar, pope Clement, and to his faithful friends and counsellors, the cardinals.* The compliments contained in such an epistle may be easily guessed; but a better idea may be formed from the conclusion:—*Your mother, Pride, salutes you, as also your sisters, Avarice, Impurity, and the rest, who, thanks to your protection, boast of being on a good footing.* It is somewhat remarkable, that Visconti, archbishop of Milan, was supposed to be the author of this libel.

Clement VI.
acknow-
ledges
his
fallibility.

Another fact, not less singular, is, that Clement VI., after having asserted, in a letter to the patriarch of the Armenians, that the sovereign pontiff was the sole judge who could decide in matters of faith, and that every one should be looked upon as a catholic or heretic, according to his decision, published a bull, de-

claring, that if any thing contrary to faith or sound morals had escaped him, he retracted it, and submitted to the decision of the Holy See. The grand system of impeccability, infallibility, and superiority to the judgment of any tribunal, is not more easy to be reconciled with the decrees of the pontiffs than with their history.

After the battle of Creci, the affairs of France were in a miserable situation. Though Philip de Valois was possessed of sense and courage, yet he wanted abilities fit for a throne. The debasing of the coin, added to excessive taxes, rendered him odious to his people. Edward III., in ridicule, called him *the author of the Salic law*, because he had increased the tax upon salt, or the *gabelle*. The Italian financiers having made themselves rich, were driven out of the kingdom ; but their pernicious art was the spring of a bad government. Philip died in 1350, worn out with vexation and uneasiness.

Humbert II., the dauphin of Vienne, having lost his son, and being desirous of retiring into a monastery, yielded Dauphiny to this prince, from whence the heirs-apparent of France have derived the title of dauphin.

John, the son and successor of that unfortunate king, drew upon himself still greater misfortunes. Imprudent, passionate, and cruel, debasing the coin was the sole resource he was acquainted with in cases of necessity ; and he was not ashamed to instruct his officers how to impose upon the faith of the public in that point. He caused the constable, the Count

Faults
of
Philip
de
Valois.
His death.

Dauphiny
united to
the
crown.

King John
becomes
odious.

d'Eu, and some other nobles, to be executed without a trial, which could not fail to excite a spirit of rebellion. He made a mortal enemy of Charles d'Evreux, king of Navarre, his son-in-law, who was capable of every wickedness, and well entitled to the surname of *Bad*, though it was necessary, either artfully to sooth, or rigorously to prosecute him. He sometimes roused his rage by attempting to check and punish him ; at others, he increased his insolence, by purchasing a peace with a profusion of favours.

Edward III. prepares for war. Nothing could be more agreeable to the ambition of Edward III., who, ever since the surrender of Calais, took advantage of a truce, which had been frequently renewed, to prepare for new expeditions. The king of Navarre, who was always in rebellion, had been surprised and seized at Rouen ; and his brother, who had taken shelter in England, joined Geoffrey of Harcourt, whom we formerly mentioned, to solicit and encourage the enemy of France. War being thus become unavoidable, John assembled the states-general in 1355.

Famous assembly of the states. That famous assembly, which resembled the English parliament, granted thirty thousand pikemen, making in all an army of about a hundred thousand men ; and also a subsidy of about nine millions five hundred thousand livres of the present value, for their maintenance ; but at the same time they dictated to the sovereign. He obliged himself to fix the coin at an invariable standard, renounced the ancient privilege of taking provisions and carriages from the people for the use of his house-

hold ; and even bound himself neither to conclude a peace nor truce without the consent of the three orders, or their deputies. It was agreed, that no proposal should be received in the assembly without the concurrence of the three orders. The third estate resembled the commons of England ; its credit increased, because it granted the necessary supplies, and it had already shackled the powers of the crown in a considerable degree.

The Prince of Wales, commonly called the Black Prince, had already laid waste some of the provinces of the kingdom, when King John, at the head of an army of sixty thousand men against eight thousand, came up with him at Maupertuis, near Poitiers. The English, being destitute of provisions, must have been destroyed, or obliged to surrender prisoners of war, if John had conducted matters with prudence ; but he rejected their offers ; and, having attacked them rashly when advantageously posted, was defeated, and fell into the hands of the enemy. The prince of Wales, a hero whose mind was filled with the most generous and virtuous sentiments, behaved to him in the manner the most proper to make him forget his misfortunes ; and the English, following the example of their general, gave proofs of humanity far more honourable for them than the victory which they had gained. Though the spirit of chivalry was still very unpolished, it was accompanied with a generosity of sentiment, which made amends for the want of a cultivated understanding. This establishment has not a little contributed to the civilization of manners.

The Black
Prince.
Battle
of
Poitiers.
1366.

The dauphin exposed to seditions. The dauphin, afterwards Charles V., governed with the title of Lieutenant-general of the kingdom, but had not as yet made known his great abilities ; on the contrary, he had given just cause of distrust, both by his intimacy with the king of Navarre, and his precipitate retreat at the battle of Poitiers ; and for these causes, he at first met with nothing but crosses and seditions. The states-general being assembled to provide succours, and attempting to take the government of the kingdom into their own hands, were dismissed ; but he was soon obliged to recall them, and allow them to dictate. A two-years truce, concluded by the captive king at Bourdeaux, did not lessen the rage of sedition.

The king of Navarre at the head of the insurgents. The insurgents had for leaders the bishop of Laon, and Marcel, provost of the merchants of Paris ; two men whom no sense of duty or shame could restrain. The king of Navarre no sooner got out of prison, than he immediately joined them, and was received in triumph. Dreadful disorder prevailed in the capital ; the provinces were laid waste by the military ; the *jaques*, or peasants, armed against the nobility ; the different parties alternately massacred one another ; and nothing was to be seen but universal outrage, murder, and despair.

1368. The dauphin reduces them. The genius of the dauphin, though he was surrounded with disgrace and danger, began to display itself ; his mind acquired vigour, and, by his profound wisdom, he triumphed over every obstacle. As soon as he attained the age of twenty, the period at which the minority of

kings usually terminates, he took the title of Regent, and was resolved to suppress the malecontents. Paris, from which he kept at a distance, very soon became sensible of the advantage of subordination; for Marcel being killed by a citizen, at the time he was preparing to cause the king of Navarre to be crowned, a deputation was sent to entreat the dauphin to return; when he was received with transports of joy, and peace was insensibly restored.

The king, tired of his prison, made a shameful treaty with Edward, by which he engaged to deliver up to him all the provinces that had belonged to the kings of England, and likewise to pay four millions of gold crowns for his ransom; but the states unanimously rejected the treaty, and Edward again invaded France with an army of a hundred thousand men. If the dauphin had risked a battle, all might have been lost; but he had the prudence to abandon the country to a devastation which time could repair, that he might provide for the defence of the fortresses, the loss of which could not have been recovered.

A great part of the kingdom was laid waste, and the English advanced as far as Paris; but a desolated country could afford them few resources, and the army was exhausted by want and fatigue. Edward, inspired by prudent counsels, was desirous of making an advantageous peace; to which he was determined, as we are assured, by a violent tempest that killed a number of his men and horses. His mind might be influenced by superstition, as

A shameful
treaty
rejected by
the
states.

Edward
advances to
Paris.

well as many others ; but it is almost impossible to believe that this was the principal motive, though, undoubtedly, it might give weight to other reasons.

^{1264.}
Treaty of
Bretigni.

A peace was at last concluded at Bretigni, near Chartres, where it was agreed, that Guienne, Poitou, Saintonge, and the Limousin, should remain with the full sovereignty to the king of England, who, on his part, was to renounce his pretensions to the crown of France, to Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, and that John should pay three millions of crowns of gold for his ransom. This famous treaty was confirmed at Calais ; but the complete execution depended upon circumstances, and pretences for breaking it were easily found.

<sup>Imprudence
and death
of
John.</sup>

Such was the imprudence of King John, that at his return, notwithstanding the deplorable state of his kingdom, he suffered himself to be persuaded by the pope to take the cross against the Turks ; for which expedition he was preparing with great zeal, when one of his sons, whom he left as hostage with Edward, escaped, with an intention not to return. Being a scrupulous observer of all his engagements, he made it a duty to return to London, where he died in the year 1364. *If justice and honour, said he, were banished from the earth, they ought to be found in the mouths and hearts of kings.* With these lofty sentiments of kingly virtue, why was he the cause of so great misery to his country ? The reason is, that no virtue a prince can possess, is capable of supplying the want of moderation and prudence.

By right of succession, he acquired Burgundy, which he gave in appanage to his fourth son Philip, the founder of the second house of Burgundy, which we shall soon see formidable. The marriage of Philip with the heiress of Flanders, greatly increased his power,

Second
house of
Burgundy.

CHAPTER IX.

REIGN OF CHARLES V. IN FRANCE. PETER THE CRUEL, KING OF CASTILE, DETHRONED BY HIS BROTHER HENRY TRANSTAMARA. DEATH OF EDWARD III.

^{1364.}
Charles V.
King of
France.

CHARLES V., who had saved the kingdom while he was dauphin, no sooner ascended the throne than he repaired all the evils of the last reign ; and, by the most consummate prudence, gained the glorious surname of *Wise*. Though of a weakly constitution, he supported all the toils of government ; and, without appearing at the head of his army, was always victorious. The celebrated Du Guesclin, a knight of Bretagne, and the model of the heroes of that age, had amazing success, the glory of which reflected upon the great prince who could distinguish his abilities, employ, and reward them.

Du
Guesclin.

The
kingdom
restored
to
peace.

Peace and tranquillity are necessary to heal the wounds of a state, and were the first objects to which Charles directed his attention. Du Guesclin defeated the army of the king of Navarre, who was often bound by treaties, which he always infringed ; and the king rewarded the chevalier, by bestowing on him the county of Longueville. The French and English did not fail to engage in the war of Bretagne, kindled in the year 1341, which was chiefly remarkable

for the exploits of chivalry, for the countesses of Blois and Montfort having signalized their valour as well as their husbands. This war was terminated by the death of the count of Blois, who was killed in battle. The king chose rather to seek the good of the public, than his private revenge ; and, not choosing to make an enemy of Montfort, who was in possession of Bretagne, consented to receive his homage. The king of Navarre likewise obtained a peace, by renouncing those groundless claims which had served him as a pretence for entering into rebellion.

France, however, was laid waste by other enemies. A multitude of adventurers, chiefly English or Gascons, among whom even men of distinguished abilities were to be found, had not laid down their arms since the peace of Bretigni. A cruel and avaricious banditti, they perpetuated all the calamities of war in time of peace ; and the provinces, in their turns, became the prey of their savage rapacity. We need not be surprised at this, for the military, at that time, were ignorant of all law as well as discipline ; and the famous English general, Talbot, ingenuously said, *If God Almighty had been a soldier, he would have been a plunderer.* These robbers, who were called *companies*, or *malandrins*, had even defeated James de Bourbon, a prince of the blood, who was sent by the late king to reduce them. It was expedient to remove them by address, rather than to engage them ; and an opportunity offering, it was eagerly embraced.

Peter I., surnamed the *Cruel*, who had been king of Castile since the year 1350, a debauch-

The
malandrins,
a scourge
to
the country.

Peter I.

^a
detestable
tyrant.

ed, treacherous, and sanguinary tyrant, began his reign with murdering the mistress of his father, Alphonso XI. Henry, Count Transtamara, natural son of the late king, animated by ambition and revenge, set himself at the head of a league of malecontents ; but his first attempt proving fruitless, he fled for an asylum to France, which was irritated against Peter, who had married Blanche of Bourbon, and, having soon forsaken her, kept her as a prisoner. Some time after, he caused this princess to be murdered ; at least, it was generally believed, and the tenor of his life made it probable. He entered into an alliance with the king of England, that he might procure assistance ; while, on the other hand, he made himself detested by the king of Arragon, Peter IV., whose dominions he had seized. He was not to be frightened by the excommunications denounced against him by two legates ; but, undoubtedly, they helped to exasperate the hatred of the people.

^{1365.}
Du
Gueslin
leads
the
companies
against
him.

In the state in which affairs then were, Henry Transtamara offered to take the companies into his pay, who were pillaging France ; to which consent was joyfully given, and Du Gueslin undertook to command them. He met their leaders, and advised them to join in the enterprise from religious motives, hell which they deserved, and paradise which they would gain ; not forgetting to strengthen these motives by the hopes of plunder, and even promising them the ransom of the pope at Avignon. The banditti had been anathematized ; and Innocent VI., having published a crusade against them, they were equally desirous of procuring absolution

and extorting money, and yielded to the guidance of Du Guesclin, who faithfully kept his promise. In his march through the dominions of pope Urban V., the successor of Innocent, he demanded a hundred thousand livres, and absolution for the *malandrins*. While the pope was deliberating, they laid waste the country, and threatened the city ; so that he was obliged both to pay the money and grant absolution. But the contribution being levied upon the inhabitants, the chevalier insisted that they should be reimbursed by the pontifical court and the clergy, and they were obliged to obey. This anecdote shows, in the clearest light, the morals of the military, who were so superstitious at that time, as to believe every thing lawful, if they could extort absolution.

Peter the Cruel seeing the king of Arragon, Transtamara, already proclaimed king of Castile, the foreigners, and almost all his own subjects against him, fled for an asylum to the famous prince of Wales, to whom Edward III. had given the principality of Guienne. That hero declared himself his protector, passed the Pyrenees, defeated Henry at the battle of Navarette, took Du Guesclin prisoner, whose advice had not been followed, and, in the end, restored the dethroned king. But he very soon experienced the treachery of that monarch, who had engaged to pay his troops, and put him in possession of Biscay. The tyrant fulfilled none of his promises ; but he was very soon punished.

Transtamara, who had saved himself by flying into France, returned with fresh succours, and Du Guesclin, who had got his liberty,

1867,
Peter
restored
by
the prince
of
Wales.

Transta-
mara kills
the
tyrant.

<sup>Henry II.
1369.</sup> brought some additional forces. In 1369, Peter was defeated, taken prisoner, and carried before his brother ; who, looking upon him only as the murderer of his family, put an end to his atrocious deeds by a fratricide. Though illegitimate, Henry preserved the kingdom, and transmitted it to his posterity. The king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster, son of Edward III., both pretended to the succession, though without success ; the first, in right of his grandmother, and the second in right of his wife ; and Transtamara became king of Castile, by the name of Henry II.

<sup>Prudent
government
of
Charles V.</sup> During this war in Spain, France reaped the fruits of a prudent government in peace. The coin was fixed at a proper standard, agriculture flourished, and the kingdom flowed with plenty ; taxes were diminished, commerce encouraged, and the more the people were sensible of their happiness, the greater was the extension of the royal power. He, therefore, thought of recovering the provinces which had been lost under the last reign ; and several infractions of the peace of Bretigny might justify the attempt. The respective renunciations to which they agreed had not taken place, though John had pressed Edward upon that subject. The king of England, in all appearance, would have revived his claim to the crown, at some favourable conjuncture ; and the king of France, finding one to secure his ancient right of sovereignty, took advantage of it with great address.

<sup>1368.
Discontents
in
Gienne</sup> The prince of Wales, who was attacked with a slow fever, having exhausted his money in the war of Castile, and by the magnificence of his court, laid a tax of twenty sous upon every

hearth in his provinces ; upon which the nobility murmured, and carried their complaints to the court of France. They were likewise dissatisfied with the king of England, who, being intoxicated with success and pleasure, no longer thought of gaining the favour of the people, or looking forward to what might happen. Charles V. received the appeal, and, in quality of sovereign, summoned the prince of Wales to attend the court of peers ; to which the prince replied, that he would make his appearance with sixty thousand men. War being immediately begun, and the French every-where successful, all the lands which Edward and his son held in the kingdom were juridi-cally confiscated ; which would have been an egregious folly, if they could not have secured the execution of the decree by force of arms,

The people ardently desiring to return un-der the king's dominion, Charles found the less obstruction, as the English monarch did not ex-pect to be thus attacked, Edward being at last roused, sent some troops into France, and the English penetrated into the heart of the kingdom ; but Du Guesclin, who, without in-trigue, had arrived to the dignity of constable, defeated and dispersed them in every quarter ; while the fleet of Castile was at the same time of great service to Charles. Notwithstanding the suggestions of the treacherous king of Na-varre, Henry II., Transtamara, remained stead-ily attached to a crown that deserved his gra-titude. In 1373, Edward lost all his conquests except Calais, and likewise his eldest son the prince of Wales, a hero, who, on account of his virtues, was even dear to his enemies. He did

against the
prince
of Wales.

Charles V.
recovers
all
but Calais
from
England.

^{1377.}
^{Death}
^{of}
Edward III. not long outlive him, and died in 1377, the slave of an avaricious mistress, who tarnished the lustre of a reign of fifty years.

^{The}
^{parliament}
^{gains}
^{power.} Edward III., possessed of the greatest qualities of head and heart, by his ambition occasioned great misfortunes to his country. What torrents of blood were fruitlessly spilt! and how many other calamities happened, inseparable from a love of war! The necessity of applying for the assistance of parliament threw more power into its hands; and, upon its making frequent complaints of the abuse of the royal authority, the king twenty times confirmed the great charter, to appease their murmurs. The use of the French language in the public acts was abolished under that reign. The tax which was paid to the pope was suppressed, notwithstanding the threatenings of Innocent VI. The parliament declared, that King John could not render himself a vassal and tributary, without the consent of the nation. England already exclaimed loudly against the court of Rome, to which, they said, the taxes paid by them were five times greater than the subsidies paid to the king. The ferment in men's minds was one day to break out with the greatest violence.

^{Richard II.}
^{a minor.} Richard II., son of the prince of Wales, ascended the throne; but, being a minor, the power devolved upon his uncles, the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester. This tempestuous reign produced an important revolution.

^{Charles V.}
^{tries to}
^{get} We now approach to the death of Charles V., whom we shall see falling into error; such is the instability of human prudence. Montfort the

duke of Bretagne having entered into an alliance with the English, and put them in possession of Brest, as the king of Navarre had of Cherbourg, he was very soon deprived of his dominions, and obliged to fly. The king hoped to reunite Bretagne to the crown by a stroke of authority, and therefore cited the duke before the peers; but, without acquainting him of the adjournment, or sending him a safe-conduct, caused the duchy to be confiscated. The Bretons, who had formerly risen in rebellion against the duke, whom they detested, upon this occasion declared in his favour, recalled and defended him. Vexation at having taken this measure disposed the king to hearken to calumny, and, being deceived by one of his courtiers, suspected Du Guesclin of holding a secret correspondence with Montfort; but these clouds were dispelled by the princes and nobles. The constable came to court, where he resolved never to appear again, and was employed on an expedition against the English, where he died a natural death in the year 1380.

possession
of
Bretagne.

1380.
Death
of
Charles V.

Charles the Wise survived him only a few months. That prince was an excellent model for the art of governing. By his prudence, economy, and political skill, he restored the kingdom to peace and good order; filled his treasury, while he at the same time relieved the people; had a considerable fleet, and no less than five armies on foot at one time, though at first he could scarce collect twelve hundred men; checked the licentiousness of his troops, which were frequently more dangerous in time of peace, than useful in war; honoured and

Charles
the
Wise.

rewarded every kind of merit, even learning and science, which was as yet in its cradle ; and, being a friend to morals, set a virtuous example. In one word, he made the whole happiness of the throne consist in the power of doing good, and that excellent maxim was the invariable rule of his conduct.

CHAPTER X.

REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES IV. STATE OF SPAIN.

THE emperor Charles IV. of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, died in the year 1378. We shall here take notice of the remarkable events of his reign, which, to have introduced in the order of time, would have occasioned confusion. That prince, who owed the empire to the hatred of the popes against Louis V. of Bavaria, was always remarkable for excessive weakness, joined to insolent pride. His coronation in Italy was, in some degree, the last breath of the imperial authority expiring in that country. The family of Visconti, who had made themselves masters of Milan, refused to admit him, but upon condition of his bringing only a few attendants ; yet he created them hereditary vicars of the empire for Lombardy, where they had established their dominion by force. The gates of Rome were not opened to him till he promised, that he would leave it the same day, and never more set foot in the country without the pope's permission. Insatiable of vain honours purchased with humiliation, he next went to Avignon, to receive the crown of Arles from the hand of pope Urban V., and then returned to Italy to curb the Viscontis,

Charles
IV.
Emperor.
1378.

his vicars, who had offended the Holy See ; but his journey was concluded, by the sale of the few remaining rights of the emperors, to the nobles and republics, without reserving any thing but the barren title of liege lord. He had already given up Verona, Padua, and Vicenza to the Venetians.

His golden bull. Every one should know his famous *golden bull*, which was published in 1356, with the approbation of the whole Germanic body, of which it made a fundamental law. Allusions to the seven mortal sins, and the seven candlesticks in the Apocalypse, introduced the establishment of seven electors. These electors are the archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, the king of Bohemia, the count palatine, the duke of Saxony, and the margrave of Brandenburgh. Charles IV. being king of Bohemia, an enemy of the house of Bavaria, and jealous of that of Austria, it is not surprising that Bohemia had the preference to Austria and Bavaria. The golden bull assigns to each elector one of the great offices of the crown ; orders the election to be made at Franckfort ; the emperor to be consecrated at Aix-la-Chapelle by the elector of Cologne ; the first diet to be held at Nuremberg ; the electorates to be inherited, without division, by the eldest sons, according to the law of primogeniture. Two thirds of this bull turn upon the pomp of the coronation, and the ceremonial of the court. These were the great objects which engaged the attention of a prince, who thought grandeur consisted in ceremony, and fancied himself the sovereign of kings,

because he was served by the first princes of Germany.

The last year of his life, 1378, he went to France to acquit himself of a vow at the abbey of St Maur. Though Charles V. was his nephew, a scrupulous attention was paid to the ceremonial and the style of compliment, lest the chimerical sovereignty of the emperor over kings should be construed into an acknowledgment. This chimera had been maintained by Bartolus the civilian, as an article of faith; but the imperial was not possessed of the spiritual thunders of the Roman court.

This universal monarch had so little power in his own country, that his equipage was arrested by the butchers of Worms for debt. He completely ruined the imperial domain by alienations. He solicited the pope's permission to cause his son Wenceslas to be elected king of the Romans, and purchased the vote of each elector for a hundred thousand florins. Wenceslas, whose catastrophe we shall see, has been dreadfully blackened by monkish historians, who are greatly suspected of decided hostility against him, because he did not think proper to govern according to their principles.

Spain, during this epoch, was filled with the same distractions, wars, and superstitions, as formerly. Denis I. king of Portugal, was excommunicated for imprisoning some ecclesiastics, who had been the accomplices of his rebellious son. The Christian kings sometimes united against the Moors, but more frequently indulged in the rage of mutual discord. The Castilians took Gibraltar; but it was soon retaken. Alphonso XI., king of Castile, reigned gloriously;

Journey
of
Charles IV.
into
France.

His want of
power
in
Germany.

State
of
Spain.

his successor, Peter the Cruel, was a monster, whom all mankind would wish had been stifled at his birth. Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, displayed his villainy rather in France than in his own dominions. Peter IV., king of Arragon, at the same time tyrannised over his subjects. While blood and tears flowed in every quarter, the princes of Spain displayed their magnificence in tournaments and idle ceremonies ; and a taste for pomp was long fatal to that country.

Artillery
used by
the
Moors.
Invention
of
gunpowder. The Castilians laid siege to Algezira in 1342, which held out till 1344, owing to the Moors having employed cannon, with which the Christians were unacquainted. It is probable, that the Moors were the authors of this dreadful invention, since this is the first occasion of their being mentioned in history. It has been alleged, that they were employed by the English at the battle of Creci, in 1346. Perhaps gunpowder was invented by Roger Bacon in the preceding century ; but that is no proof of his having invented artillery, for the Chinese had used gunpowder for several ages, though they had no idea of fire-arms. The invention has been ascribed to Bertold Schwartz, a German cordelier, in the beginning of the reign of Charles IV. It is surprising, that the origin of a secret, which made a total change in the art of war, cannot be traced. Undoubtedly, the first attempts were awkward.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ARTS AND LITERATURE OF ITALY.

USEFUL and agreeable arts, and even taste, began to shine forth in Italy. They had invented earthen ware, mirrors, the glasses called spectacles, paper, and the notes of music. The genius of industry had begun to display itself in the commercial cities, while the utmost barbarism every where else prevailed. It was still great luxury, in the thirteenth century, to have window-glass, to wear linen, to burn candles, to eat hot meat every day, and to use spoons or forks of silver.

Arts
invented
in
Italy.

In imitation of the people of Languedoc and Provence, the Italians cultivated poetry, and very soon surpassed their masters. Danté, a Florentine, who died in the year 1321, scattered many sublime passages in his fantastic productions, which may be quoted at present as models. Being persecuted by Boniface VIII., for being a Ghibeline, he took the revenge of a poet, and showed, that even the most powerful, have reason to fear the keen arrows of genius.

Italian
poetry.
Dante.

After him came Petrarch, a native of Tuscany, bred in the schools of France, who, inspired by love, added grace and sentiment to the Italian

Petrarcha
and
Boccaccio.

language, which was fixed by the elegant and ingenious prose of his cotemporary Boccaccio, while the other languages of Europe were mere jargon. It was a great advantage to the Italians, that the Latin made the groundwork of their language, and that barbarism had never been able to rise to such a height among them as in other countries. The crown of laurel, which Petrarcha received at Rome, and the honours paid to him in other countries, were some of the principal incentives to genius.

Satire
of
Petrarcha
against
the
court
of
Avignon.

This wit expressed himself with great freedom on the affairs of the church ; and the shameful coronation of Charles IV., upon condition of his never returning to Rome, inspired him with the keenest indignation. He wrote to the emperor, as if Charles had been a Constantine,—*What insolence in a bishop, to deprive of liberty a sovereign, the father of liberty ! What an affront, that he, whom the whole world should obey, shall not be master of his own person !* He describes the court of Rome, which was under his eye at Avignon, in the most dreadful colours. To give his own words, he says, it is ‘ a labyrinth, in which mankind are only bewildered ; where an imperious Minos casts the lot of men in the fatal urn ; where a devouring minotaur roars for his prey ; where temples are erected to brutal lust. Here is no clew of Ariadne, no wings of Dædalus, to extricate you. Gold alone can appease the reigning monster, bind him down, or gain his hideous sentinel. With gold the gates of heaven may be there laid open, and Jesus Christ exposed to sale. In this empire of Babylon, a future life

and immortality pass for fables ; the Elysian fields, Styx, and Acheron, the resurrection of the flesh, and the last judgment, are idle tales.'

We may judge from this specimen, how distant were the first writers, whose taste was formed by the ancient schools, from the discernment necessary to avoid pedantry. The language and ideas of paganism, applied to the Christian religion, formed a monstrous compound, which fashion daily brought into vogue, as it had formerly done the more monstrous mixture of Arabian subtilities with the doctrines of the faith.

We may likewise perceive the spirit of liberty, with which superior writers, unsuspected of infidelity or heresy, were already animated. So crying were the abuses, that no friend to the church, or the cause of humanity, could resist describing them with acrimony. Privileges, benefices, pardons, indulgences, were all exposed to sale. Nothing but stupid credulity could crouch in silence under the destructive tyranny of superstition ; but, when the evil became intolerable, even the most bigotted exclaimed, and, by their frequent complaints, foreboded an approaching revolution. The great schism, to which we are now drawing near, will render it still more certain.

It is necessary to attend to some customs, that we may be acquainted with the changes, which time has introduced into every thing. A council held at Bourges, in the year 1336, commanded every priest, who was charged with a care of souls, to say mass at least once or twice every month ; but, if they had no curates, how

Their
learning
infected
by
pedantry.

A spirit
of
liberty
excited
by
abuses.

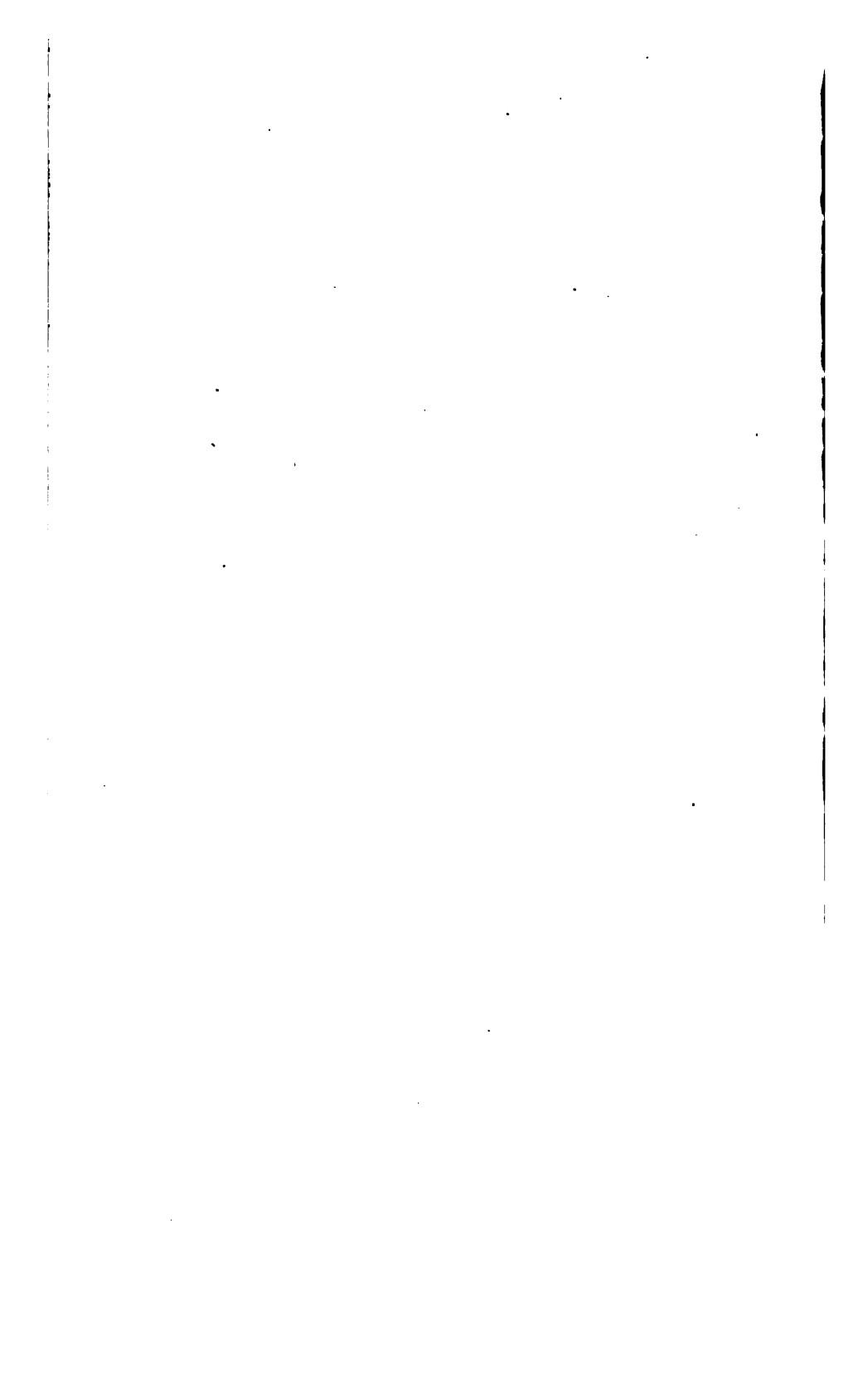
Some
religious
rites
go
into disuse.

could the duties of the church be performed? A council held at St Ruf, near Avignon, the following year, enjoined the beneficiaries and clerks in holy orders, to abstain from eating flesh on Saturdays, in honour of the holy Virgin. This abstinence had been generally commanded above three centuries, when the *truce of God* was published; but it was necessary to be more firmly established. Another council, held in the same place, in the year 1326, condemned some laymen, *children of Belial, who lighted candles, bundles of straw, and brands, that they might extinguish them, in derision of the tapers extinguished at the publication of censures;* an evident proof of the contempt into which excommunication had fallen, because of its being employed as an instrument of interest, vengeance, or caprice.

Affair of
the
Jacobines
at
Paris.

Satire, frequently more powerful than reason, began to employ her powers against those ecclesiastics who abused their clerical functions, to enrich themselves by the devotions of the people. For instance, John de Mehun, being desirous to be buried in the church of the Jacobines of Paris, bequeathed to them a strong-box, with directions to his executor not to deliver it to *the good fathers* till after his burial. After celebrating his funeral with magnificence, they next ran to the strong-box, in which nothing was to be found but slates ornamented with geometrical figures; upon which the *good fathers* vented their rage upon the dead body, which they tore from the grave, and the parliament was obliged to command them to bury it in the cloister.

The manners, follies, and abuses of the old times must be known, in order to show what religion and its ministers have gained in proportion to the progress of learning and knowledge,



SEVENTH EPOCH.

GREAT SCHISM OF THE WEST. MISFORTUNES
OF FRANCE UNDER CHARLES VI. REPAIRED
UNDER CHARLES VII.

FROM THE YEAR MCCCLXXVIII. TO THE MIDDLE OF THE
FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE TROUBLES OF THE
CHURCH. THE POPES RETURN TO ROME.

THE farther we advance in history, the more we are surprised to see the world disturbed by ecclesiastical affairs. Wherefore did such quarrels, outrages, and frantic madness, prevail in the bosom of a religion of peace and charity, from the establishment of Christianity in the time of Constantine? We have already observed the causes, which were every moment revived with effects still more contagious. The ministers of the church, peaceful and gentle, while they confined their attention to the care of souls, had artfully acquired too much power and authority to keep themselves within the limits of their holy ministry.

Origin
of
the religious
troubles.

The
clergy
abused
religion.

By their dominion over the minds of the people, they could inculcate their most unreasonable opinions as divine truths ; and, being favoured and revered in the courts, could transfer these opinions into laws. Having by various means acquired riches and nobility, they were seized with those passions which usually accompany wealth and grandeur ; and, from that time, being exposed to the hatred and enterprises of the great, they forgot the morality of the Gospel, and appeared sometimes to make no use of religion, but to bring down the fire of heaven, or add fuel to that of hell. Being the only people who were capable of engaging in any kind of study during the ages of barbarous ignorance, it was not difficult for them to extend their privileges, to take the management of affairs into their hands, to usurp the jurisdiction of kingdoms, and to forge chains for the stupid vulgar, or weak and blind princes. Success in one bold attempt naturally led them on to a second still bolder ; times and customs changed usurpation into right, errors into principles, and abuses into duties ; till, at last, worship, doctrine, and morality, were disfigured by gross superstitions, which, though the monks and clergy turned them to their own advantage, could not fail, in the end, to prove destructive to themselves. The sovereign pontiffs, in particular, by the excess of their ambitious enterprises, undermined their own power.

The abuse
to
be ascribed
to them,
and not
to Christ:
ianity.

It is a great injustice, to impute to Christianity the numberless evils for which it has afforded a pretence. The Gospel, tradition, and the discipline of the primitive ages, directly contradicted such abuses. The Christian vir-

tues and sound doctrine, of which some traces always remained, bore testimony against the prevailing vices. Religion was abused, either from its not being sufficiently known, or because every thing is perverted to wrong purposes by the passions. The priesthood composing a distinct body, with separate interests, almost free from the civil power, and, in some degree, exercising the legislative, having the sole guidance of education, governing consciences according to its pleasure, in the name of God commanding men who did not reason, or, rather, whom it prevented from reasoning. With all these advantages, what was to be expected, but that the priests and pontiffs, in a corrupted age, would keep the people in a kind of servitude?

Sacerdotal despotism is naturally unstable ; with feeble weapons it attacks the interests of all mankind, and powers armed with the temporal sword. Its whole strength is founded on opinion ; and, when that changes, it can be no longer maintained. It must be owned, that measures were taken to perpetuate ignorance, by depriving the laity of the Holy Scriptures, burning all who presumed to think differently from the vulgar, and the tyranny of the Inquisition was exercised over both mind and body. But, however powerful these means might appear, they were not sufficient. Unless they could have burnt every book, shut up all the schools, and annihilated human reason, they could not but expect the most formidable opposition.

The court of Rome, by imprudent avarice and manifest tyranny, had provoked the hatred of the clergy in almost every kingdom ; so that a number of learned men were ready to declare

Sacerdotal
despotism
must fall
with
opinion.

What
foreboded
a
change
of
opinion,

against her the first opportunity. The revival of learning had set the minds of men in motion, and inspired them with that passion for disputing, which contradiction never fails to inflame ; so that a leaven of bold opinions was mixed with a number of prejudices, which would necessarily give birth to some important novelty. Unfortunately, fanaticism has greater influence than reason, and it is rather irritated than extinguished by punishments. It will, therefore, in its transports, at the same time attack the true doctrines and abuses ; and, though the doctrines prevail, the abuses will not be less weakened, because they will show how contrary pernicious excesses are to Divine truths.

Marsilius
of
Padua,
and John
of
Ghent,

Marsilius of Padua, a civilian, and John of Ghent, a theologian, in their defence of the emperor Louis of Bavaria, had already given some dreadful blows to the pontifical authority. They not only maintained, that it could not exercise any compulsive power, intermeddle in civil affairs, make general rules of discipline, or establish any articles of faith, but likewise stript the pope of the primacy over the bishops, and declared him, in all cases, under the control of the emperor. John XXII. condemned this doctrine, without distinguishing the true from the false.

Wickliffe
goes
still
further.

John Wickliffe, a doctor of Oxford, propagated his new doctrines with more freedom in England. He was an enthusiastic reformer, like Arnold of Brescia, and preached up, that ecclesiastics ought not to accumulate riches ; that the prince ought to employ their wealth for the good of the state, and the relief of the

people. He attacked the hierarchy, the sacraments, indulgences, monastic vows, and the greatest part of the religious ceremonies ; nor did he spare the papacy, which had so long been formidable to the whole kingdom. Being protected from the prosecutions of the clergy by the duke of Lancaster, one of the uncles of Richard II., his disciples, who were commonly called Lollards, greatly increased, and occasioned disturbances. His doctrine, which was not condemned till after his death, had taken such deep root, that the House of Commons, though startled at the name of heresy, several times proposed to alienate the wealth of the church, whose possessions were said to amount to a third of the whole lands in the kingdom.

In one word, Wickliffe followed the steps of The heresies all proceeded from the same source. the Albigenses, and the protestants those of Wickliffe. If we examine the source of those heresies, by which a great part of Europe was separated from the church of Rome, we shall find them proceeding chiefly from the superstitions introduced into the bosom of Christianity, and the abuse of ecclesiastical authority, which encroached equally upon civil liberty and the rights of sovereignty. We come now to the great schism in the west, which increased the public disorders, and, of course, hastened that revolution, which nothing but a profound and steady prudence could have prevented.

Seven French popes, Clement V., John XXII., Benedict XII., Clement VI., Innocent VI., Urban V., and Gregory XI., had reigned in Avignon, to which the Holy See had been transferred in 1309, and was a subject of grief and

French
popes
at
Avignon.

scandal to the Romans. Though they detested the papal yoke, they wished to have the pope among them, either because his presence would draw money into their city, or that religious motives were added to views of interest. Undoubtedly, the bishop of Rome ought to reside in Rome; but, since he could arbitrarily dispense with the observation of laws, it is not surprising, that he could find a dispensation for himself. Besides, as the bulls and anathemas of the pontiffs had not lost all their influence, the kings of France endeavoured to keep them in their kingdom; which, though it was a stroke of policy hurtful to the clergy, was perhaps useful to the crown in those days of fanaticism.

The
Florentines
excommunicated
by
Gregory XI.

Urban V., however, went to Rome in the year 1367, but was soon tired of his situation, and, in 1370, returned to Avignon, where he died that same year. His successor, Gregory XI., was determined, by some particular circumstances, to remove to Italy. The Florentines had formed a league against the governors sent into that country by the pope; but they were soon punished for this procedure by excommunications, which were backed with an army, and greatly injured their commerce. They sent proposals of peace, and the person pitched upon for their envoy, was Catherine of Sienna, a nun, who pretended to be favoured with revelations.

They sent
St.
Catherine
of
Sienna
to
him.

The solemn marriage of this saint with Jesus Christ; the gold ring, enriched with precious stones, which was given to her by her Divine Spouse, and which she always wore on her finger, though no person ever saw it; with a num-

ber of similar tales, related by the legendaries, may be called in question. But it is certain she decided like an oracle in public affairs ; yet it appears that the Florentines did not continue to place the same confidence in her which they did at first, as their deputies, who followed after, were forbidden to hold any conference with Catherine. However, it is believed that she persuaded the pope to fix his residence at Rome.

Gregory having received a promise from the Romans, to give him the entire lordship of their town, and to take the oath of fidelity, went thither in the year 1377 ; but experience soon showed him, that neither Romans nor Florentines were inclined to submit. Being filled with vexation, he resolved to quit Italy, where he died, repenting of his having followed the advice of some people, *who, on pretence of religion, said he, propagated their own chimeras.* Saint Bridget of Sweden, a nun at Rome, had likewise laboured effectually to draw the pope from Avignon.

Gregory
goes
to Rome,
where
he dies.

CHAPTER II.

BEGINNING OF THE SCHISM. REVOLUTIONS AT NAPLES AND IN HUNGARY. TROUBLES IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

^{1378.}
Origin
of
the great
schism.

ELEVEN days after the death of Gregory XI., came on the fatal election, which occasioned a schism of forty years. The Romans, in a tumultuous manner, surrounded the conclave, to demand a pontiff of their own nation, threatening to offer violence to the cardinals, if they were not immediately gratified. The archbishop of Bari, a Neapolitan, afterwards famous under the name of Urban VI., was chosen, and his election proclaimed to be the work of the Holy Spirit. He was obeyed three months, as lawful pope, and likewise acknowledged as such by six cardinals, who remained at Avignon ; but he soon rendered himself so odious by his haughty, harsh temper, and indiscreet severity, that the cardinals retired to Anagni, declared the election forced, and therefore null, and proceeded to a new one, at Fondi, in the kingdom of Naples, where they made choice of Robert, son of the count of Geneva, a relation, by blood or marriage, to some of the greatest princes, who took the name of Clement VII. Three Italians, who were the only cardinals of that

country, had been fraudulently seduced to the conclave, by a separate promise, made to each of them, of being chosen pontiff; a disagreeable circumstance in such an important business.

Nothing was more difficult to decide than which was the true pope; and, in that state of uncertainty, the best way probably would have been, to have acknowledged neither, especially as it was necessary to come to that at last, in order to put an end to the schism. But men's minds were not yet sufficiently informed, to admit of their relinquishing a pope, though his election had been doubtful. All Europe was divided, as the potentates happened to be led either by prejudice or interest. Charles V. of France did not decide till after a long examination, when he espoused the part of Clement; while England and the empire were for Urban. Such a division might supply the place of other causes of animosity.

While these two pontiffs thundered curses and anathemas against each other, engaged in a most furious war, distracted the consciences of men, and disturbed the government of kingdoms, each of them reckoned a number of saints on their side, of whose revelations and miracles they boasted, as proofs of the goodness of their cause. Catherine of Sienna wrote every where in favour of Urban, and, in her letter to the king of France, called the cardinals, who were favourers of Clement, *devils incarnate*. Such a powerful authority required a counterpoise, and some equally strong were opposed to it; but the great miracle would have been, to act with temper.

VOL. IV.

D

Europe
divided
between the
two
popes.

Saints
opposed
to
saints.

Clement
VII.
at
Avignon.
Joanna L.
persecuted
by
Urban VI.

The pontifical armies fought in Italy with various success. Clement, who had taken Rome, was driven out by the Romans, and settled at Avignon, to ruin France. Urban made use of victory like a tyrant ; and Joanna the First, the famous queen of Naples, whose unfortunate beginnings we have already mentioned, having espoused the cause of his opponent, very soon felt the effects of his vengeance. He declared her a heretic, guilty of high treason, deposed her, and gave her kingdom to her cousin Charles Durazzo. After that prince had promised to yield Capua to Francis Prignano, the pope's nephew, Urban VI. sold the domain of the church, and even the consecrated plate, to facilitate the conquest. The haughty pontiff preferred the fortune of his nephew to all other considerations.

She adopts
the duke
of
Anjou.
Durazzo
puts her to
death.

Joanna had no children, though four times married ; and, being desirous to find an heir capable of defending her, adopted Louis duke of Anjou, the brother of Charles V. ; but the death of the king of France, in 1380, the same year of the adoption, delayed the expected assistance. Durazzo having the way paved for him by Urban, who had crowned him at Rome, and sown sedition at Naples, arrived there with an army. Otho of Brunswick, the queen's husband, was defeated and made prisoner, and the queen obliged to surrender. The conqueror consulted Louis king of Hungary on the fate of that wretched princess ; who replied, that she deserved the same death with Andrew of Hungary, her first husband ; and, in 1382, Joanna was either smothered or strangled.

The duke of Anjou having in the mean time got possession of the treasures of Charles the Wise, and being master of the kingdom for some months, in quality of regent, oppressed the people, by raising supplies for his expedition into Italy. Having received the investiture of Naples from the pope of Avignon, he did not doubt of securing the throne by his great preparations; but he only found his grave in La Puglia, where almost his whole army perished from want, diseases, and the sword of the enemy. The titles of this second house of Anjou, which were constantly kept up from motives of ambition, and always failed from misconduct, continued fatal to France.

Unfortunate
expedition
of
the duke
of Anjou.

When the new king of Naples found himself firmly established, he carefully avoided making good his promise made to Prignano, though both urged and threatened by Urban, who was equally insolent and imprudent, and came in person to negociate, or rather to command. Charles, after having held the bridle of his horse, according to custom, caused the pontiff to be made prisoner. An apparent reconciliation was very soon followed by a fresh rupture; when Urban, who was besieged in Nocera, appeared at his window three times every day, and by the sound of the bell, with a torch in his hand, regularly excommunicated the king and his army. He gave vent to his rage upon five or six cardinals, whom he suspected of treason, because they advised him to make peace; condemned them to the most cruel torments; and, while the dean of the college was put to the torture, assisted in person, reading the holy office. After so many acts of violence,

*Madness of
Urban.*

lence, he fled to Genoa, dragging them along half dead in his train, and at last freed himself from all apprehensions by their murder. It was in this manner the title of pope was supported by a ferocious tyrant, at the same time that the other pope set no bounds to his rapacity.

The crown
of
Hungary
offered
to
Durazzo.

Charles Durazzo did not long enjoy a crown stained with blood. Louis of Hungary died without issue male ; and the Hungarians acknowledged his daughter heiress, by the name of *King Mary*. That people, who were still uncivilized, would not have submitted to a woman, but for the respect they paid to the memory of Louis. The female king was not of age ; and her mother governed, or rather gave up the cares of government to a nobleman. The nobility began with murmuring, and very soon proceeded to rebellion ; when they made an offer of the crown to the king of Naples, who was descended from the reigning family.

He accepts,
and is
assassinated.

That prince, intoxicated with success, having accepted the offer, notwithstanding the prudent remonstrances of his wife, under an exterior of friendship, presented himself at Buda ; and so far succeeded, as to get himself crowned ; but was assassinated a few months after, in the year 1386. The Hungarians repenting of their rebellion, proclaimed Mary anew, together with her husband Sigismund, son of Charles IV., who afterwards succeeded to the empire. Young Ladislas, son of Charles, succeeded to the kingdom of Naples, with the consent of Urban, to whom a promise was made of whatever lands he pleased for his relations ; while, on the other hand, Pope Clement gave

the investiture of that state to Louis II., son of the duke of Anjou ; which opened a new source for war and misfortunes.

England and France were then in a deplorable situation, where nothing was to be seen but discord and confusion. The uncles of Richard II., who directed the affairs of government, were less attentive to the good of the public, than the security of their own interests. In the year 1381, the people in the country being enraged at the imposition of a new tax, entered into a rebellion, to which they were chiefly excited by John Ball, a Franciscan, a fanatical preacher, whose maxims of equality and perfect freedom heightened the sense of their misfortunes. He incessantly repeated,

When Adam delved, and Eve span,
Who was then a gentleman ? *

These rebels committed horrid excesses even in London ; but, like the *Jaques* in France, being destitute both of a leader and discipline, they were soon obliged to submit,

The weakness of the king, his blind complaisance for his favourites, and his anxiety to shake off the yoke under which he was kept by his uncles, exposed him to the most dangerous broils ; he was stript of all authority, and his ministers condemned and executed ; but, having at length attained the age of twenty-two, he declared himself major, and for some time appeared to be the sovereign, while the pit was digging, into which he was one day to fall.

Trombles in
England
under
Richard II.

The
king loses
all
authority.

Disorders
also in
France,
under
Charles
VI.

It is not to be doubted that France would have taken advantage of these disturbances, if Charles V. had been still alive ; but after the death of that great king, all was cabal and distraction ; his brothers, the dukes of Anjou, Berri, and Burgundy, uncles of the young king Charles VI., by their insatiable rapacity oppressed the people, and, from the faults of government, the nation was daily more and more infected with a spirit of rebellion. The king carried the war into Flanders, where the people had rebelled against their prince, who was father-in-law of the duke of Burgundy ; and having defeated the Flemings at Rosbec, in 1382, returned to chastise the Parisians, or rather gave them up to the tyranny of his uncles, who guided him as they pleased. During the destructive expedition of the duke of Anjou into Italy, some ruinous preparations were making to attack England, and all these expenses were thrown away ; in one word, the kingdom seemed to be governed by blindness, distraction, and passion.

Tragical
end
of Charles
the Bad.

That monster of wickedness, Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, formed a design to poison the whole royal family ; but his project was discovered, and he perished by an accident, which might be looked upon as a striking instance of divine wrath. The parliament began his trial after his death ; but such a ridiculous proceeding could produce no consequences.

The king
at last
attempted
to govern.

At last, Charles VI. resolving to govern, took the reins into his own hands, in the year 1388, and, if he had been prudent, the affairs of the kingdom might have been recovered ; but being of a passionate, inconsiderate, vola-

tile temper, though benevolent, generous, and valiant, he could only increase the mischief in such a critical conjuncture, when principles and all sense of duty were forgotten.

The schism was not the lightest scourge with which the different nations were afflicted. Urban VI. published a crusade against Clement and the *Clementines*. An English bishop, who was general of this crusade, attacked Flanders, though the Flemings were *Urbanists*; but was driven from thence by Charles VI., who protected the earl, as being his vassal. Clement, on the other hand, to support his court, which consisted of thirty-six cardinals, pillaged the church of France. A monk, whom he intrusted with his power, demanded one half of the revenue of all the benefices, and was ordered to deprive whoever made any opposition. The outcries of the clergy, but more particularly of the university, obliged the crown to publish an edict against such enormous extortions; but the king sent the first president to the pope, and went in person to visit him at Avignon, either with a design to pacify his resentment, or calm his sorrow.

It was a vain expectation, that the death of Urban, which happened in 1389, would put an end to the war about the pontificate; for the Italian cardinals chose Boniface IX. to succeed him, and all the disgraceful outrages were renewed. However, it served to divert Charles VI. from a preposterous scheme of a crusade against the Turks, as he was made to believe, that it was better to employ his arms against the schismatics, and he resolved to make Italy submit to the French pope; but this design,

Crusade
of
Urban VI.
Extortions
of
Clement
VII.

The schism
continued
after the
death of
Urban.

which was not more reasonable than the former, was abandoned for another act of imprudence, which brought on most dreadful consequences. Peter de Craon having assassinated Clisson the constable, fled for an asylum to the duke of Bretagne ; and, though Clisson recovered of his wounds, the king was no less desirous of revenge. He therefore marched with an army against the duke, when the excessive heat, and a fright occasioned by some accidents, deprived him of his reason ; which misfortune was the more dreadful, as the disorder continued thirty years, with only some lucid intervals, sufficient to make him feel all the horrors of his situation.

He gives his daughter to Richard II.

The king of England, exposed to rebellions at home, was incapable of taking advantage of the situation of affairs in France, and, wishing to enter into an alliance with Charles VI., demanded and obtained his daughter Isabella in marriage. He concluded a truce of twenty-eight years, and for a sum of money restored Brest and Cherbourg, which had been given up to the English during the preceding reign. The two kings had an interview, at which they agreed to endeavour to put an end to the schism, which was the general wish of the whole Christian world ; but an obstruction was found in the ambition of the pontiffs, which neither reason nor religion could overcome.

The university of Paris tries to end the schism.

Clement, while he pretended to wish for peace, was not the least obstinate in maintaining his dignity, and incessantly extorted the revenue of the churches. The university of Paris, which was still increasing in power, suffering from his rapacity, and likewise feeling

for the public calamities, proposed three methods for concluding the dispute ; either that both rivals should resign, or come to a compromise, according to the decision of some chosen arbitrators ; or, as the last resource, submit to the sentence of the general council. The king, or rather the duke de Berri, having paid no attention to these remonstrances, the schools were shut up. The university thought this seditious proceeding lawful, when they were dissatisfied ; and, from the power of prejudice, it almost constantly succeeded. The memorial which they sent to Clement VII., accompanied by a spirited letter, occasioned the most mortal vexation to the pontiff, who died soon after.

Each of the cardinals of Avignon took an oath, when in the conclave, to renounce the pontificate after the election, if the majority thought that necessary for the extinction of the schism. Peter Luna, a native of Arragon, was chosen, and took the name of Benedict XIII. Having been legate at Paris and in Spain, he artfully concealed his ambition under a mask of zeal, which he let drop as soon as he had assumed the tiara. The public, dazzled by appearances, at first believed him to be sincerely inclined to peace, and, in that persuasion, he was readily acknowledged ; but three princes of the blood of France, accompanied by several prelates and learned men, made a fruitless visit to his court, to exhort him to resign, as the only step proper to be taken ; and it was in vain that all the cardinals concurred in the same opinion. He declared, by a bull, that abdication was a new method, and, by follow-

1394.
Convention
of
cardinals.
Benedict
XIII.
breaks it.

ing it, he was afraid of offending heaven. Neither he nor Boniface, notwithstanding all the entreaties which were made by crowned heads, could be prevailed upon to humble their pride at the expense of their dignity ; yet, to hear them, they only listened to the voice of religion and duty.

1597.
France
no longer
acknow-
ledged the
pope.

If the sovereigns had possessed either understanding or courage, nothing was easier than to have cut this Gordian knot. France set the example in a national council, which determined on a neutrality ; in consequence of which, the presentation to benefices was restored to the ordinaries, and a prohibition issued against sending money to Benedict, or paying him any obedience ; accompanied with an order for all the king's subjects to leave his court ; so that the Gallican church was governed, as formerly, by its own bishops. But this reasonable system did not last long ; for it was condemned by a part of the nobles and clergy, perhaps because the rest had approved of it. The university of Toulouse, in particular, treated as scandalous what the university of Paris thought the greatest good. Besides, so blind was superstition, that notwithstanding the king's express prohibition, the French flocked in crowds to Rome, at the beginning of the century, to take the benefit of the jubilee of Boniface IX., though he had never been acknowledged by the nation. Benedict was besieged in his palace of Avignon by the marechal de Boucicault, and was some time a prisoner. He again deceived both princes and people : the Castilians and French again acknowledged him, and this triumph rendered him still more untractable.

That the passions should be displayed with so much violence in church affairs, is not at all surprising, when even religious ideas alone, if misapplied, are strongly calculated to agitate the human heart ; but here was a contention for power, and the highest dignity. What ferment was not to be expected from a mixture of spiritual with temporal power, with an addition of inflammable matter, which could not fail to throw the minds and passions of men into a state of extreme agitation !

CHAPTER III.

THE EMPEROR WENCESLAS DEPOSED, RICHARD II., KING OF ENGLAND, DEPOSED. THE FACTIONS OF ORLEANS AND BURGUNDY IN FRANCE. COUNCIL OF PISA. SIGISMOND EMPEROR,

Wenceslas
alienates
the
imperial
domain in
Italy.
Deposed,

A MIDST the horrors occasioned by the schism, new revolutions happened in different states. The emperor Wenceslas, following the example of his father Charles IV., alienated what remained of the imperial domain in Italy, from whence it was scarce longer possible to derive any advantage. He created Galeazzo Visconti duke of Milan, count of Pavia, Parma, and Placentia, reserving nothing to himself but the precarious rights of liege lord. Some of the electors, provoked at this alienation, entered into a league against him; but too little affected by their intrigues, he went to Rheims in the year 1398, to concert measures with the king of France for putting an end to the schism. He took upon himself, as *avowee* of the Roman church, to press the abdication of the two popes; but that of Rome, Boniface IX., prevented the blow, by exciting the three ecclesiastical electors to join in open rebellion against him. The count palatine joined them, and the conspirators were animated and directed by the nuncios of Boniface,

till at last Wenceslas was solemnly deposed in 1400, ‘for having dissipated the imperial domain; for neglecting the cares of government, leading a life unworthy of the imperial dignity, and in particular, *permitting dogs to sleep in his chamber.*’

Is it probable, that his accusers would have stopped at such imputations, if he had been the monster he has been represented by the monks? His subjects, the Bohemians, provoked at his having prevented them from plundering and massacring the Jews, kept him four months in prison. By adhering to the council of Pisa, which was held against the two popes, as I shall soon have occasion to mention, and granting protection to the famous John Huss, he undoubtedly made himself infamous in the eyes of the opposite party.

Robert count palatine, having been raised to the imperial dignity by the cabal, undertook, with the help of the people of Lucca and Florence, to bring down the power of the family of Visconti; but he made his appearance in Italy only to lose a battle near lake Garda. However, he kept possession of the crown, which still seemed to belong to Wenceslas, who renounced it after the death of the usurper.

Robert the usurper defeated by the Visconti.

A revolution still more bloody happened in England. The duke of Gloucester, uncle of Richard II., a man of an artful, turbulent disposition, had already stirred up the minds of the people against his weak nephew, on account of the treaty concluded with France; and certainly would have dethroned him, if the rebel had not been seized and privately

Rebellions against Richard II.

put to death, before preparation could be made for his trial. The young duke of Lancaster, the king's cousin, succeeded better in a similar attempt. Richard had unjustly seized his patrimony; and the duke, secure of the popular favour from his reputation of courage and piety, set up the standard of rebellion against the king, and made himself master of his person.

1399.
Henry duke
of
Lancaster
deposes
the king.

Lollards
persecuted.

Disorder
in
France.

Richard was accused before the parliament, when some acts of arbitrary power, more frequent in the reign of Edward III., and easily vindicated by the constant outrages of the nobility, afforded a pretence for the sentence by which he was deposed. He died a violent death some time after, and was succeeded by his oppressor Henry IV., to the prejudice of Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, the lawful heir of the crown, by right of primogeniture. Henry suppressed several rebellions by the power of his arms. From policy, he sacrificed the Lollards to the clergy, though they had been protected by his father; and it would seem, that he himself did not disapprove their doctrine. The parliament declared, that they deserved to be burnt as heretics; yet the grounds of their heresy were one day to serve as the foundation of the religion of the English church. Thus do nations change their ideas.

In France, where the manners of the people were less barbarous, the public calamities were not less dreadful. The madness of Charles VI. seemed to have turned the heads of the whole nation. Magic was employed to effect a cure, and was intrusted to a couple of monks, who

were impostors, and rather added to the disorder. They accused the duke of Orleans of having contributed to it by malice, and were hanged after they had confessed their guilt. The factions of the different princes, who contended for the management of public affairs, tore the monarchy in pieces. Queen Isabella of Bavaria, a faithless wife and unnatural mother, trampled upon every duty, and sacrificed all to her passions. After the death of Philip duke of Burgundy, the duke of Orleans, brother of the king, and the queen's gallant, seized the government, that he might oppress the people with odious extortions. John, surnamed the *Fearless*, the new duke of Burgundy, who, from his character, was more dangerous, openly opposed him, and, by an apparent zeal, inflamed the rage of the people. Beside the estates which John inherited from his father, he possessed Hainault, Holland, Zealand, &c. in right of his wife; so that few monarchs equalled him in power and riches.

That revengeful prince sacrificed every thing, even his honour, to implacable hatred. After pretending to be reconciled to the duke of Orleans, having taken the sacrament, and, in token of friendship, slept in the same bed with him, he caused him to be assassinated in one of the streets of Paris. He then withdrew, but very soon returned, as if in triumph, and procured permission to justify himself in public. John Petit, a doctor of the university, pronounced an absurd discourse in presence of the dauphin, in which he established the doctrine of tyrannicide by twelve arguments, in honour of the twelve apostles, and concluded

1407.
The duke
of
Orleans
assassinated.

with saying, that the duke of Burgundy deserved praise and rewards, like St Michael, *who killed the devil*, or Phineas, who killed Zimri. We may observe, by the by, that the fanatics always consecrated murder by examples taken from the Bible; so apt are men to run wild, when reason and humanity are excluded from their religious ideas, that is, when they are ignorant of the spirit of the true religion.

Murdering factions. Though nobody ventured to combat this criminal apology, and though the duke of Burgundy had received his pardon, yet he could not but expect dreadful reprisals. The young duke of Orleans burnt with impatience to revenge the death of his father; and the count d'Armagnac, afterwards constable, who had married his daughter, assisted him with all his power; so that the Burgundians and Armagnacs signalized themselves by their horrid excesses, and Paris flowed with blood. In short, every thing conspired the destruction of the monarchy.

The schism continued. The church continued to be distracted by the schism, and endless mischiefs were the consequence of these violent agitations; because neither the people nor their governors were guided by any rational principles. Among other schemes for procuring money, Boniface conceived that of selling the reversion of benefices to whoever would purchase them. He died in the year 1404, and Innocent VII., his successor, like the rest, refused to abdicate, which was still fruitlessly proposed. Gregory XII., Corario, a noble Venetian, who succeeded Innocent VII. in 1406, was no less obstinate, though fourscore years of age. These

pontiffs and their rival, the haughty Benedict XIII., deceived all Europe by promises of an union, which terminated only in denouncing fresh anathemas.

At last, France having resumed her scheme of neutrality, Benedict fled from Avignon, and the cardinals of the two popes, irritated by the conduct of both, united, and convoked a general council at Pisa, to which the competitors were summoned. As they took care not to appear, they were declared guilty of contumacy, and deposed ; and Alexander V., a man of the most obscure birth, who had begged his bread in his youth, was chosen. He and all the cardinals entered into an engagement, that the council should not rise till the church should be reformed both in its head and members ; yet he dissolved it, declaring, that the reformation could not take place at present, but should be referred to the first general council, which was appointed to be held in 1412. What probability of accomplishing a reformation incompatible with the interests of the head, and the principal members of the church ? All the effects produced by the meeting of the general council at Pisa, which an angry writer called *a conventicle of devils*, was the creating a third pope.

Alexander was of the order of Brother Minors, and by a bull confirmed their pernicious privileges, even giving up all who dared to oppose them to the secular power. By another bull, he declared Ladislas, who espoused the cause of Gregory XII., deposed from the kingdom of Sicily. He sent a legate to extort tenths from France ; but there they had the

1409.
Council of
Pisa.
Alexander
V.

prudence to prohibit the payment, though the new pope was acknowledged.

*Robert,
Succeeded
by
Sigismund.* Gregory found a zealous defender in Robert, who still kept possession of the empire. The Germans, who were dissatisfied with that pope, kept at a distance from his protector, and entered into a formidable conspiracy against him; but his death, which happened in the year 1410, prevented their designs. Wenceslas, reduced to his kingdom of Bohemia, after some fruitless attempts to recover the imperial throne, renounced it, upon condition of its being given to a prince of his family. Two elections, the one in favour of his cousin the margrave of Moravia, and the other of Sigismond king of Hungary, his brother, threatened a civil war; but the first dying soon after his election, the votes were united in favour of Sigismond, a zealous, indefatigable prince, who alone could restore the peace of the church, which was the principal object of his attention.

*Pope John
XXIII.* The famous Balthazar Cossa, a native of Naples, was chosen to succeed Alexander by the name of John XXIII. He had been a corsair in his youth, a profession more suited to his temper and manners than the functions of an ecclesiastic. Being legate at Bologna under Boniface IX., he made himself master of that rebellious city by force of arms, and ruled like a tyrant. Under Alexander V., he drove the troops of Ladislas, king of Naples, out of Rome, and reduced that city under the authority of the pontiff. Being raised to the papal throne in 1410, he united with Louis of Anjou to dethrone Ladislas; but that war,

which continued from the death of Queen Joanna, was so unfortunate, that, after having gained a victory, Louis found himself destitute both of men and money, and was obliged to abandon the attempt.

The pope in vain published a thundering bull against ^{Bull against} ^{king} ^{Ladislas.} Ladislas, commanding all bishops, under pain of excommunication, solemnly to declare him an excommunicated, perjured, relapsed heretic, at every festival; and under the same penalty prohibiting him from burial, at the same time granting the privileges of a crusade to all who should take up arms against him; yet the next year, 1412, he acknowledged Ladislas king of Naples, and even promised to put him in possession of Sicily, upon condition that he would abandon Gregory XII., who fled from Gaieta to Rimini, where he was well received by Charles Malatesta.

John XXIII. and Ladislas very soon quarrelled again, because the king was not of a humour to be ruled by the pope; and, having come to an open rupture in 1413, Ladislas took Rome, where he committed many acts of violence. John fled for refuge to Bologna, and implored the assistance of the emperor Sigismund, who took advantage of that circumstance to bring about his scheme of ecclesiastical pacification. He earnestly desired to have a council assembled, which might be able to reform the church, and check the ambition of the pontiffs. Sigismund proposed that it should be held at Constance, a city in his own dominions; but the pope refused to assemble it there. However, he was at last constrained

^{John makes war against him.}

^{Council of Constance.}

to give his consent ; yet, after all, made some fruitless efforts to elude it. During a month, which was spent in holding a conference at Lodi, where John always appeared in his pontificals, and Sigismond in the habit of a deacon, the prince at last wrested from him the bull of convocation. During these transactions, Ladislas died ; but all Europe was in commotion about the council, which the pope could no longer put off.

CHAPTER IV.

COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

WHEN all whose duty it was to attend the council were assembled, a prodigious number of cardinals, prelates, and doctors; above a hundred sovereign princes of Germany, with the emperor at their head; twenty-seven ambassadors, and innumerable deputies from all the different states and communities in Europe, were seen collected in Constance. It is not surprising that a crowd of minstrels and courtesans should have followed this multitude, in an age when the lives even of the clergy were not the most exemplary. John XXIII. opened the council at the end of the year 1414, which was ended by Martin V. in 1418. We shall give some idea of their most important transactions.

1414.
Prodigious
assembly
at
Constance.

It was at first determined, that votes should be taken by nations, and not by heads; and there were five nations, viz. Germany, France, England, Italy, and afterwards Spain; when the Spaniards gave up their pope Benedict. This regulation was necessary, because the Italian bishops alone outnumbered all the rest. The pope in vain objected to this, and likewise to a proposal of giving a voice in the de-

Regulations
for
the council.

liberations to laymen, among whom a number of learned men were to be found.

John XXIII. abdicates. His trial.

Sigismond, who did not love the pontiff, imagined, that his abdication was necessary to put an end to the schism, and the council were of the same opinion. It was requisite that John should sign a form of resignation ; but he had scarce subscribed it when he repented. The duke of Austria, whose favour he had purchased, gave a tournament on purpose to let him have an opportunity of making his escape in the crowd ; and in fact, the pope, disguised in the habit of a postilion, with the duke after him, saved themselves by flight. On the one hand, the emperor seized the lands of the duke ; and on the other, the council prepared for the trial of the pope, who was accused of several enormous crimes. He was deposed as simoniacal, debauched, and incorrigible, and the sentence notified to him, for he had been taken at Fribourg in Brisgau. He submitted, and was transported to the same prison in which John Huss was confined, who afterwards perished in the flames. The superiority of the council over the pope was determined during the fourth session, soon after the escape of John XXIII.

Gregory XII. abdicates. Benedict XIII. continues inflexible.

Benedict XIII. at last abdicated ; but Peter Luna, Benedict XIII., who had taken shelter at Perpignan, preserved his haughty obstinacy ; and though the emperor paid him a visit, in order to prevail with him, it was to no purpose. Being at length abandoned by the kings of Arragon, Castile, and Navarre, he retired to the castle of Paniscola, from whence he continued to fulminate his excommunications a-

against the whole world. However, that did not prevent his being deposed by a sentence of the council.

The popes being all deposed, now was the favourable moment for a reformation Election of Martin V.

The popes being all deposed, now was the time for the council to accomplish the grand scheme of reforming the church, both in its head and members; this was the favourable moment, when the particular interest of the papacy did not obstruct the general advantage so difficult to be reconciled with such an interest. But the cardinals, dreading that reformation which they affected to approve, alleged, that it ought to be made by a pope, and that one should be elected for that purpose. This opinion prevailed in opposition to the reasons given by the emperor, the Germans, and the English. It was settled, for once only, that thirty deputies of the council should concur in the election with the cardinals; and Otho Colonna, who took the name of Martin V., was unanimously elected.

Experience very soon showed that the Germans and English were not mistaken. Though a number of articles were agreed upon before the pope was elected, which they allowed to stand in need of reformation, such as annates, reservations, reversions, dispensations, indulgences, appeals to the court of Rome, and cases in which the pontiff might be corrected and deposed, yet no reformation took place, nor was any thing done but issuing a few vague decretals, on articles of less consequence; and the pope got rid of the council by appointing another to be held at Pavia. It was ordered that a general council should be held in five years after this; another in seven

years after the second ; and, for the future, one every ten years ; but must not innumerable obstructions, either from the pontiffs or from sovereigns, have been foreseen, which would render this ordinance ineffectual ?

*John Huss
detested
by the
Germans.*

The manner in which John Huss and Jerome of Prague were treated by the council of Constance, is an unanswerable proof, if the least doubt could be entertained, that bigotry and party spirit had too great an influence in church affairs, to leave any possible hopes of a pure system of legislation, at least till a very distant period. John Huss, rector of the university of Prague, founded by Charles IV., and confessor of the queen of Bohemia, the wife of Wenceslas, had drawn upon himself the hatred of the Germans, by a simple regulation of discipline. He obtained, for his countrymen, the Bohemians, three votes in the university to one of the Germans, instead of the Germans having three to one of the Bohemians ; upon which, almost forty thousand foreign students withdrew ; for the university of Prague, like that of Paris, had attracted thousands of people, who were less calculated for study, than anxious for the security of their academical privileges.

He is burnt. The great misfortune of this theologian was, that he relished and maintained the doctrine of Wickliffe, especially against the hierarchy. He was excommunicated by John XXIII. ; but, being provided with a safe-conduct from the emperor, had the boldness to appear at Constance, to vindicate his conduct and his sentiments. The passport did not save him from being put in prison. He was prosecuted, his

books condemned, opinions were ascribed to him which he denied, and he offered to explain the rest ; but moderation was forgotten, and the council insisted that he should absolutely retract, which he positively refused. Being degraded and delivered over to the secular power, even by the order of Sigismund, he suffered the cruel punishment of fire.

His disciple, Jerome of Prague, a man of superior merit, had recanted, but, animated by the courage of John Huss, retracted his recantation as a crime, and perished in the flames, blessing God. Poggio, who had been secretary to several pontiffs, was an eyewitness of his death, and compares it to that of Socrates.

Jerome
of
Prague
likewise
burnt.

Gerson, who was the oracle of the university of Paris, and ambassador from France to the council, it is said, had a great share in the severities exercised against the two theologians. His zeal against tyrannicide, which was taught by John Petit, was not so effectual, though undoubtedly such doctrine deserved much greater severity ; and it was with no small reluctance that it was condemned, without either specifying the book or mentioning the author. This caution proceeded from a dread of the duke of Burgundy.

Tyrannicide
with
difficulty
condemned.

Let us take notice, in this place, of the dreadful consequences which followed the deaths of John Huss and his disciple. Their doctrine had a number of admirers in Bohemia ; and their deaths kindled that fanaticism, which bids defiance to danger, and stifles every sentiment. Wenceslas, thinking himself injured by the sentence of the council, favoured the Hussites, whose fury increased every day. He died in

Fanaticism
and
revolt of
the
Hussites.
Ziska.

1419, and was succeeded by his brother, Sigismund, who was soon after declared an enemy to religion and the state, by the Hussites. John Trasnow, surnamed Ziska or the One-eyed, their general, defeated him several times, and obliged him to offer disgraceful conditions. Ziska, when dying of the plague, in 1424, gave orders that a drum should be made of his skin, to inspire the soldiers with courage. This war, which was productive of every kind of enormity, lasted almost twenty years ; a dreadful, but fruitless example against the spirit of persecution, which was become so common. Massacres were long continued for the sake of the church ; but the only effect produced by them was, to increase the number of her enemies.

CHAPTER V.

**SUCCESS OF HENRY V., KING OF ENGLAND, IN
FRANCE. END OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES VI.**

DURING the time the council of Constance lasted, France experienced new misfortunes, which brought upon her still greater evils. Henry IV., king of England, remained in quiet possession of his usurped crown, but was prevented from executing the enterprises which he had projected, a violent disorder having put an end to his days, in 1413. His son, Henry V., who had formerly led a life of vice and debauchery, no sooner ascended the throne, than he became a prudent, virtuous prince, extremely assiduous in the cares of government. He had been corrupted by idleness ; but grandeur, though another source of corruption, reformed him, by furnishing objects for his genius more worthy of his attention ; and, if it had not been for that fatal ambition, which brought such heavy calamities upon France, without the least solid advantage to England, he would have been a model for crowned heads. Could it have been suspected, that it would have been excited by a prelate ?

Though the parliament persecuted the Lollards, it did not hesitate to adopt a part of their system, and proposed to the king to seize the The primate stirs up a war against France.

wealth of the church. In fact, the clergy were compelled to yield a number of benefices to the crown. For this reason, the archbishop of Canterbury was desirous of a war, which might direct restless minds to some other object, and made him inspire Henry V. with a desire of attacking France, where the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, insulting the royal authority by turns, seemed to present a certain conquest. They had lately made a profession of being reconciled; but their hearts were implacable.

*1415.
Invasion
of
Normandy.
Battle
of
Azincourt.*

Notwithstanding the truce of twenty-eight years, which had been concluded in 1394, several acts of hostility had fomented the mutual animosity of the two nations, when Henry landed in Normandy, and took Harfleur, after having lost a great part of his army during the siege. Being disabled from attempting any thing further, he passed the Somme, and retired towards Calais, while he was pursued by an army four times his number. If the French had reflected on the disasters of Crecy and Poitiers, they might have found certain means of crushing or reducing the invaders; but they reflected on nothing, and, hurried on by blind instinct, repeated their former errors, which were attended with the same misfortunes. The constable d'Albert attacked Henry, who had chosen a very advantageous post, which was narrow, and of difficult access, where the French could not extend their line, nor draw up their army, and where the English archers very soon decided the victory. This famous battle of Azincourt is said to have cost the English only forty men, while the French lost seven princes,

the constable, and about eight thousand gentlemen, who fell in the field. The dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, with a number of the first nobility, were taken prisoners.

Henry, however, being in want both of men and money, was obliged to retire, and concluded a truce. Princes were still far from that policy, which looks forward to secure funds and resources for a continued war. Subsidies were not sufficient; there were but few regular forces; armies were raised in a hurry, and quickly dispersed for want of pay and provisions; so that wars were commonly nothing but incursions for pillage. Kings must have acquired power in their dominions before they could carry them on in any other manner.

After the defeat at Azincourt, the French factions, instead of being pacified, became more violent than ever. The count d'Armagnac having been made constable, joined with the dauphin, Charles VII., took the government into his hands, increased the taxes, proscribed the adherents of John the *Fearless*, and seized a considerable treasure, the property of queen Isabella of Bavaria, whom the king had been obliged to confine at Tours, on account of her public disorders. This princess, who had hitherto been the duke's enemy, entered into an alliance with him against the state, upon which he freed her from her confinement, and made himself master of Paris, when the constable, the chancellor, with a number of people of distinguished rank, and a multitude of citizens, were massacred in that capital. The dauphin having fled, transferred the Parliament to Poitiers; while the queen, arrogating to herself

Henry
derived little
advantage
from
this victory.

Dreadful
discords
in
France.

the title of regent, held a parliament at Troyes, and the flame of civil war was kindled in the provinces. The king of England returned, and made a conquest of almost all Normandy.

^{1419.}
The duke
of
~~Burgundy~~
assassinated.

Rouen continued to hold out, and the dauphin was reconciled to the duke of Burgundy, which was the only means left of preserving the kingdom ; but, even this reconciliation occasioned the greatest misfortunes. At an interview of the two princes upon the bridge of Montereau, duke John was assassinated ; an atrocious deed, such as he himself had committed. The murderers were in the train of the dauphin, who was suspected of the guilt, not without probability, though without proof. The queen, and Philip the Good, the young duke of Burgundy, transported with a blind desire of vengeance, united against him with the enemy of the kingdom.

^{Infamous}
treaty
at Troyes
with
Henry V.

Henry V., having made himself master of Rouen and Pontoise, joined them at Troyes, where a disgraceful treaty was concluded, in 1420, by which Catharine of France, the king's daughter, was given to Henry, who was to govern the kingdom in quality of regent, and to succeed to the crown ; and Charles, styling himself *dauphin*, was declared an enemy to the state, and to be prosecuted as such. Though the fundamental laws of the monarchy were hereby overturned, the treaty was confirmed by a decree of the parliament of Paris ; but the most faithful of its members had followed the dauphin. The king of England made a public entry into the capital, accompanied by the silly Charles VI., the first like a sovereign, the second a despicable automaton. Never was there

a clearer instance of the power which conjectures sometimes have to occasion the sentiments of duty to fluctuate.

Undoubtedly, a revolution of greater or less consequence must have taken place, if it had not been for the death of Henry, who, at the age of thirty-three, died of a fistula. He appointed the duke of Bedford, the eldest of his brothers, regent of France, and his other brother, the duke of Gloucester, regent of England during the minority of his son, Henry VI., who was then an infant. His widow, Catharine of France, soon after was married to Owen Tudor, a gentleman of the principality of Wales, whose descendants we shall see on the throne of England. Charles VI. survived Henry only two months. Not one prince of the blood attended his funeral; but the people, respecting the memory of the most unfortunate of kings, melted into tears, either from compassion or attachment to his person.

1462.
Deaths
of
Henry V.
and
Charles VI.

CHAPTER VI.

CHARLES VII. RECOVERS HIS KINGDOM FROM THE ENGLISH. REIGN OF JOANNA II. AT NAPLES, AND THE REVOLUTION IN THAT KINGDOM.

Dreadful situation of Charles VII. and the kingdom.

A FOREIGNER acknowledged sovereign of the kingdom in Paris, and likewise in most of the provinces ; the lawful king, Charles VII., of an easy, negligent temper, entirely devoted to pleasure, young and unexperienced, engaged in making love, and averse from business, while another was in possession of his crown ; Bedford, on the contrary, uniting activity, courage, and prudence, to complete and secure the conquest ; an unnatural queen, a revengeful and formidable prince of the blood, with a body of faithless magistrates aiding the attempts of the English, had reduced France to such a terrible situation, that nothing but extraordinary remedies could save the monarchy.

Agnes Sorel friend to the public.

The famous Agnes Sorel, mistress of Charles, from a principle of magnanimity, rousing the lover, whom she held in chains, to a sense of his duty, and to engage in the cares of war, contributed to its preservation. Such an instance is very uncommon in history, where we always see princes led astray by love, and adding to the distresses of their subjects ! The marvellous, as we shall soon have occasion to

observe, was likewise employed as another necessary aid. The natural resources of the kingdom were so totally exhausted, that the merk of silver amounted to ninety livres, which did not exceed half a livre in the time of Charlemagne.

The battle of Verneuil, which was lost in 1424, by the rashness of the constable, Buchan, a native of Scotland, of the family of Stuart, greatly weakened the party of the king; but the unlawful marriage of the Duke of Gloucester with the countess of Hainault, fortunately occasioned a diversion in his favour. This princess had forsaken her husband, the duke of Brabant, cousin-german of Philip, duke of Burgundy; and Gloucester wanted to take possession of Hainault, upon which the Burgundian flew to the assistance of his cousin. Bedford fruitlessly attempted to prevent the quarrel; and Charles, taking advantage of these troubles, began to recover his affairs, and came to an accommodation with the duke of Bretagne, who was in alliance with England.

The duke
of
Burgundy
quarrels
with
the English
regent.

The sword of constable was given to the Richemont constable. Dunois. duke's brother, the count of Richemont, who was an able general, but of a violent temper, ill suited to the manners of a court, and the mortal enemy of those favourites by whom the monarch was beset. Sometimes he quarrelled with Charles, at others he domineered over him, and dismissed his ministers. However, he deserved, by his zeal and courage, as did likewise the celebrated Dunois, a natural son of the house of Orleans, to be reckoned among the saviours of the kingdom, which stood in need

of such heroes, and which, notwithstanding their assistance, was on the brink of ruin.

*Siege
of Orleans.
1428.*

Bedford, at his return from England, when he had been to put himself in a condition to prosecute the war with new vigour, undertook the siege of Orleans, that he might open a passage to the southern provinces. The town was already hard pressed, and the king disposed to make a shameful retreat, when he was inspired with more worthy sentiments by queen Mary of Anjou, and principally by Agnes Sorel.

*Joan of Arc
is
believed
to be
inspired.*

A young female saint, of the diocese of Toul, whose name was Joan of Arc, made her appearance at this time, declaring herself inspired, that she would raise the siege, and cause the king to be consecrated in Rheims. She was examined, believed, and even people the least credulous were hurried on by the prevailing enthusiasm, or pretended to follow it, in hopes of turning it to the advantage of the kingdom. The Maid of Orleans, the name which was given her, armed cap-à-pié, and carrying a consecrated banner in her hand, was universally regarded as a tutelar angel. Her confidence, valour, and virtue, animated the troops, who did not doubt of the miracle, nor, of course, the certainty of victory. This astonishing girl, who animated every thing, but who was skilfully guided by Dunois, penetrated into the besieged town, struck the English with a panic, and made them decamp, after an obstinate siege, which had lasted seven months.

*1429.
Charles VII.*

The consecration of the king at Rheims was, perhaps, a more surprising prodigy. He had to cross a country of about fourscore leagues, in

possession of the enemy, with twelve thousand men, though almost entirely destitute both of money and provisions. This bold enterprise was risked upon the promise of Joan of Arc, and, against all probability, succeeded. Opinion does more than force; and prudence required that the king should make the attempt, to profit by the prevailing opinion. She struck both parties equally, though in a very different manner; the one believing they were protected by the immediate hand of heaven, the other that they were attacked by all the powers of hell.

*consecrated
at
Rouen.*

After the consecration of the king, the Maid of Orleans desired leave to retire, as, she said, the purposes of her mission were accomplished; but they detained her, and her good fortune vanished. The duke of Burgundy having laid siege to Compeigne, she wanted to save the place; but, being wounded in a sally, fell into the hands of the Burgundians, who gave her up to the English. Bedford, either to dispel the illusion of a miracle, or to satisfy the revenge of his army, or from a fit of passion, which it is not possible to vindicate, instead of respecting the courage of the heroine, or at least treating her as a prisoner of war, caused her to be tried as a heretic and sorceress by an ecclesiastical tribunal, which had sold itself to the most disgraceful iniquity, and she was burnt at Rouen in 1431. The trial, the interrogatories, the sentence, and the punishment, all together conspire to fill the mind with horror and indignation. The university of Paris had a great share in this transaction, which we should attend to as a proof of the fanatical

*The Maid
of
Orleans
taken at
Compeigne,
and
burnt.*

spirit, which had at that time taken root in the schools, a spirit which had much too powerful an influence in state affairs.

1435.
The Duke
of
Burgundy
makes
his peace
with
the king.

This abominable transaction rendered the English yoke still more odious ; and the French, having awaked from their delirium, in general became impatient to submit to Charles VII. Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, provoked by the haughty behaviour of Bedford, desisted from persecuting a king of his own blood, contrary to the interest of his family, in order to gratify the ambition of a foreign prince. He opened the conference for agreeing to a peace at Arras, to which Eugenius IV. and the council of Bâle, as mediators, sent legates, and all the princes of Europe sent ambassadors. An offer was made to the court of London to yield up Normandy and Guienne ; and, upon its being rejected by the English, the duke made a separate treaty in 1435, when he imposed the conditions, which, though humiliating, the king was glad to accept.

Death
of Isabella
and the duke
of
Bedford.

The same year died Isabella of Bavaria and the duke of Bedford. Isabella derived no advantage from her horrid crimes, but the hatred of the French and the contempt of the English ; a memorable example of the dangers with which wicked actions are always surrounded. Bedford had brought dishonour upon himself by the death of the Maid of Orleans, and this stain tarnished the glory of an uncommon degree of merit. His brother, the duke of Gloucester, occasioned some disturbances in England, which were favourable to France.

The English The constable Richemont took Paris from the English in the year 1436, and every day

they lost some part of their possessions in France. Charles, either by himself, or by his generals and ministers, recovered the provinces, and restored the kingdom to order. In 1451, Normandy and Guienne had been again united to the crown, and the English had lost all but Calais, of which they kept possession more than a hundred years.

The causes which produced such a speedy revolution are very evident. That wrongheadedness, which had blinded a great part of France, being contrary to the national disposition, could not fail to be soon dispelled. Could they suffer the abrogation of the Salic law, that essential foundation for the happiness of the monarchy? Could they submit to a foreign dominion, notwithstanding the great love and respect which they bore to the royal family, and so many reasons for preferring a prince of their own nation? Besides, the English, who were more anxious to preserve their own privileges than to aggrandize their sovereigns, saw very plainly, that if France was conquered, England would become a province; they, therefore, were but little inclined to promote a conquest of which they had reason to dread the consequences. Even Henry V. drew but very moderate subsidies from his parliament, and was obliged to borrow from all hands, even to pledge his jewels and his crown, in order to defray the expense of the war. Last of all, the civil discords with which that kingdom was agitated, would alone have been sufficient to have freed France from oppression. The duke of Gloucester, uncle of the weak Henry, set the whole kingdom in commotion by his cabals; he was

*driven out
of
France.*

*Causes
of
this speedy
revolution.*

therefore seized, and died a few days after, probably by assassination. But the sanguinary factions of the *Red Rose* and the *White Rose*, which very soon displayed their rage, made England a field of carnage. In another place, we shall see the revolutions which they occasioned.

*Disorderly
life of
Joanna II.
queen
of Naples.*

At Naples a revolution occurred, which was occasioned by the weakness of Joanna II. the sister and heiress of Ladislas. This dissolute princess gave herself up immediately to a favourite, which caused a general murmuring and discontent. James of Bourbon married her in the year 1415, and was acknowledged king. He caused the favourite to be executed, and the queen to confined ; and, perhaps, would have reigned in tranquillity, if he had conducted himself prudently with the Neapolitans ; but he provoked them, by lavishing offices on the French. Cabals were formed against him, and Joanna recovered her authority only to abuse it a second time. James was made prisoner, and the French were driven out of the kingdom, when a new favourite made himself master both of the queen and the state. Martin V., who had been elected pope by the council of Constance, procured the king's liberty, as he had already obtained the places which had been conquered from the Holy See by Ladislas ; but James desired rather to return to France than to remain without power ; a melancholy witness of his wife's misconduct. He turned monk, and died at Besançon.

*James Sforza
invites
Louis
d'Anjou.*

James Sforza, a great general, whom some believe to have been the son of a gentleman, and others of a peasant, became constable of

Naples, and standard-bearer of the Roman church; when, being provoked at the favour in which he saw Sergiani Carraciolo, who was the minister and paramour of the queen, he excited Louis III. of Anjou to come and seize the kingdom, of which his predecessors could only gain the empty title. Joanna, to secure a defender, adopted Alphonso V. king of Arragon and Sicily, and the two rivals made war against each other; but the king of Arragon, observing that the queen changed her sentiments with regard to him, caused the favourite to be imprisoned, which made him hateful to Joanna. Sforza seized this opportunity of attacking Alphonso, and, having defeated him, was reconciled to Carraciolo; after which he persuaded the queen to adopt Louis of Anjou, upon which Alphonso retired; but he returned afterwards, and got possession of the crown. René of Anjou, who was adopted after his brother Louis, enjoyed some pompous, empty titles in France. Joanna reigned from the year 1414 to 1435, when she died, and was the last person of the first house of Anjou.

We may observe, that, from the example of her brother Ladislas, she took the title of queen of Rome, even after it had been restored to pope Martin. A king of Naples, possessed of abilities and ambition, taking advantage of the great schism, might have made himself sovereign where he was only a vassal.

After the death of Joanna, the two competitors for the crown were both prisoners at the same time; René to the duke of Burgundy; and Alphonso to Philip Galeazzo, Visconti duke of Milan, whose fleet had defeated him at Gaiet-

*Death
of Joanna.*

*She took the
title of
queen of
Rome.*

*Alphonso of
Arragon
seizes
Naples.*

ta. When they both recovered their liberty, the war was renewed, which was finished in 1442, by the king of Arragon having made a conquest of Naples, which he took by assault. René returned to France.

A
number of
titles,
but
without
reality.

' He bore the titles of *king of Naples, Sicily, Jerusalem, Arragon, Valencia, Majorca, duke of Lorrain and Bar*, but was none of all these. This multiplicity of useless titles, founded upon claims which have never been realized, are a source of confusion in our modern histories, which renders them often disagreeable, and perhaps ridiculous. The history of Europe is become an immense verbal process of marriage-contracts, genealogies, and disputed titles, which bury every thing in obscurity and unmeaning insipidity ; by which great events, a knowledge of laws and manners, and objects the most deserving of attention, are totally smothered.' This remark of M. de Voltaire points out the path we should pursue. Let us leave the minutiae of vanity and trifling curiosity unnoticed, and employ ourselves in the pursuit of whatever is truly interesting to mankind ; being persuaded, that one just idea in matters of importance, or, what is still more, a single virtuous sentiment, acquired by the study of history, is more valuable than the knowledge of events which produce nothing useful.

CHAPTER VII.

COUNCIL OF BALE, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

THE affairs of the church again demand our attention, because all others are connected with them. Manners, opinions, laws, politics, the happiness or misery of society, for a long time depended on them, in a much greater degree than, in the nature of things, they ought; and from thence such numbers of troubles and abuses have been perpetuated under the mask of religion.

*Actions of
the
church.*

After the council of Constance, the untractable Peter Luna, Benedict XIII., defended his phantom of a papacy upon the rock of Peniscola, till the year 1424, when he died. He commanded two cardinals, who were all that remained of his court, to chuse a successor; and another antipope sprung up, by the name of Clement VIII., who was acknowledged by Alphonso, king of Arragon, because he was displeased with pope Martin. That pontiff had transferred the general council, appointed by the fathers who sat at Constance, from Pavia to Sienna, and from thence to Bâle, where it was not to be held for seven years; that is, he would not have one, or he hoped to evade it altogether. In the mean time, he made his peace with the king of Arragon, and the anti-

*Death
of
Benedict
XIII.*

*Another
antipope.*

*Council of
Bâle.*

*Death
of
Martin V.*

pope readily resigned. Martin V. died in 1431, the same year in which the council was summoned. His successor, Eugenius IV., who was no less afraid of this assembly, was satisfied with sending a legate, and resolved to dissolve the meeting, if they formed any enterprise against his authority, of which there was great appearance, since they were always talking of a reformation.

*1431.
Eugenius
IV.
quarrels
with the
council.*

Accordingly, the council quarrelled with the pope the very first session, as they began with renewing the decree of Constance on the superiority of the council. Eugenius being cited to appear, with the cardinals, before the assembly, took care not to obey the summons, nor to expose himself to the fate of John XXIII.; and they were preparing for his condemnation, when Sigismond procured a respite for him. At last, four cardinals arrived, with full power to act in the name of the pope, and to adhere to the decrees of the council. This apparent reconciliation proceeded from dread of the duke of Milan. The Campania di Roma was laid waste; and the Romans were so enraged by these ravages, that Eugenius fled, for fear of a sedition.

*The
emperor of
Constantinople
embarks in
the pope's
galley.*

By his abilities and strength of genius, however, he soon rose superior to his difficulties. The emperor of Constantinople, John Paleologus II., not being able to withstand the Turks, and destitute of every resource but the Latins, proposed the reunion of the two churches; a specious project, frequently attempted, but always rendered fruitless by insurmountable prejudices. The Greek prince was to appear in person, with a number of his prelates, and the

council sent gallies for their conveyance ; but Eugenius having despatched his, which made more haste, they were preferred by the Greeks. His purpose was to transfer the council into Italy, and there to complete the great work of the reunion himself.

Being summoned by the assembly of Bâle on that account, in 1437, he dissolved the council by a bull, and convoked another to meet at Ferrara. The following year they declared him contumacious, and suspended him from all jurisdiction, spiritual and temporal. On his part, he declared, that all who remained at the council which he had dissolved, were excommunicated. This war of anathemas could not fail to give offence and disgust to the Greeks ; but their history affords an infinite number of such examples. We may constantly observe, that, in the immense variety of human affairs, there is an universal similarity ; every where the same passions and the same grounds of error, and, from these two sources, arise the same excesses and the same follies.

Eugenius, at his council, which he transferred from Ferrara to Florence, seemed to triumph over that most obstinate schism. After keen disputes, the Greeks admitted the *procession* of the Holy Ghost and the primacy of the pope ; so that there was no difficulty remained to prevent the accommodation, and they embraced, as a sign of peace and reconciliation. The Roman church would have had room for self-congratulation on this unheard-of victory, if Paleologus, and those who accompanied him, could have fixed the belief of a people who were attached to their religious

Eugenius
dissolves the
council
of
Bâle.

Council of
Florence,
union
of the
Greek and
Roman
churches.

errors with a degree of infatuation. What trifling matters will disturb the peace on such points! One of the principal objects of dispute was purgatory, which the Greeks considered only as a place of darkness and melancholy, while the Latins asserted, that souls were there purified by fire. The council of Florence agreed that souls were purified there, but it was of little consequence to say by what means, whether by fire, by darkness, or by tempests. This decision sufficiently marks the manner in which disputes may be terminated, provided the disputants are willing to come to an understanding; but the Greeks did not change their opinions.

^{1459.}
^{Eugenius}
^{deposed}
^{at}
^{Bâle.}

The council of Bâle had hitherto shown great prudence in its decrees regarding discipline; but every assembly is affected by party spirit, and their rage against Eugenius burst forth beyond all decency. That pontiff, who was the author of the reunion of the two rival churches, was deposed in the thirty-fourth session, as being guilty of simony, perjury, a schismatic, a heretic, unworthy of either honour or dignity. Amadeus duke of Savoy, who was at that time a hermit at Ripaille, was chosen Pope, by the name of Felix V. I need not mention their reciprocal excommunications. Poggio, the secretary of Eugenius, retorted the abuse, calling the fathers of Bâle *blockheads, fools, madmen, wild beasts*, and the antipope, *a Cerberus, a Golden Calf, a Mahomet, an Antichrist*; which was the style of several ages. Greater evils were prevented by the powers of Europe preserving a prudent neutrality; they always acknowledged Eugenius, without withdrawing

from the council of Bâle ; and very little submission was shown to Felix, who abdicated in 1447, after the election of Nicholas V., the successor of Eugenius.

The canonical elections restored ; annates declared simoniacal ; reservations, survivances, and other usurpations of the court of Rome, disallowed ; a third of the benefices destined to those who had taken degrees ; appeals to the pope prohibited without a previous trial before the ordinary ; and, in case of an appeal, the pope obliged to refer to judges on the spot ; the superiority of the general council expressly acknowledged ; and the number of cardinals limited to twenty-four ; were the principal decrees published at Bâle, and inserted in the pragmatic sanction made by Charles VII. at Bourges in 1438. This famous law could not long resist the intrigues of the court of Rome, though it granted a jurisdiction to the pope, unknown to the primitive church. The pontifical power had still great opportunity of exercising its dominion.

Decrees
of
the council
of Bâle.
Pragmatic
sanction
of
Charles
VII.

Could it have been conceived that, after the cruel torment of John Huss and Jerome of Prague at Constance, the Hussites, the avengers of the cause of these two theologians, would appear at the council of Bâle ? But they had nothing to fear ; for the general Procopius, the imitator and successor of Ziska, was there with a numerous train. Many fruitless disputes were raised on theological controversy, and Procopius reasoned so as to evade every kind of argument. According to him, for example, the monks were *an invention of the devil*, since Jesus Christ founded no such institution.

Hussites
at the
council of
Bâle.

<sup>Divisions in
Bohemia.</sup> However, this proceeding proved fatal to the Hussites ; for the council sent deputies into Bohemia, to continue the conference for accommodation ; and these deputies took the opportunity artfully to sow discord, and to stir up the nobles and citizens against the fanatical savage sectaries. The Catholics, taking advantage of these dissensions, defeated them in a great battle, which was fought in 1434, when Procopius was killed, all the infantry taken prisoners, and barbarously burnt in barns. The Hussites now became more inhuman, and the stake at which their apostles suffered, seemed to kindle their rage and fanaticism afresh ; but at last Sigismond entered into a treaty, and the Bohemians submitted, upon condition of a general amnesty, the confirmation of their privileges, and the right of receiving the communion in both kinds, which was permitted to them by the council of Bâle. Such a submission was a kind of triumph.

<sup>The house
of
Austria
fixed on the
imperial
throne.</sup>

Sigismond died in 1437, leaving his whole succession to his son-in-law Albert II., duke of Austria, who died in two years after, and was succeeded in the imperial throne by Frederic III. of Austria, in whose family the empire has continued ever since. Under the following epoch, we shall have occasion to mention the war in which that house had been already engaged with the Turks ; but in this place I shall confine myself to an important subject connected with the council of Bâle.

<sup>1447.
Grievances
of the</sup> The usurpations of the court of Rome were equally complained of in Germany and France. The clergy were ruined by taxes, tenths, and

arbitrary annates ; the pope continually arrogated to himself the disposal of benefices ; indulgences, and all kinds of privileges, were sold by his commissioners ; and even civil causes were brought before his tribunal. A pragmatic, such as that of Charles VII., would have extirpated the greatest part of these abuses, and the foundation was laid by the decrees of the council ; but the weakness of Frederic III., who, contrary to the rights of the empire, had entreated Eugenius IV. to confirm his election, obstructed so desirable a reformation.

At the diet of Aschaffenburg in 1447, where Nicholas V. was acknowledged, he established what is called the *Germanic concordate*, which is still observed, though it excited great murmurs at its being first introduced. This concordate, by restoring the election of bishops and abbots, except in particular cases, leaves to the pope the nomination to canonries for six months in the year ; and, instead of annates, grants him a fixed sum, proportioned to the revenue of the benefices ; and with such advantages the court of Rome might be comforted for its losses.

Frederic was desirous of the empty honour of being crowned in Italy. A revolution had just happened in Milan, by the death of the last Visconti, when the duke of Orleans claimed the succession in right of his mother, who was the daughter of duke John Galeazzo. Alphonso, king of Naples, pretended to it, as being the heir by will, while, at the same time, the people wanted to erect it into a republic ; but the disputes were terminated by Francis

*Germanic
against
the court of
Rome.*

*Germanic
concordate
of
Frederic
III.*

*Death
of the last
Visconti
duke
of Milan.*

*Francis
Sforza.*

Sforza, a natural son of the celebrated general, whose fate we have already seen. Francis having married a natural daughter of Philip-Marie, the last duke, without any better title, took possession of the Milanese, and established his claim by force of arms.

*1450.
Frederic
humbles
himself at
Rome.*

It was at this time that the emperor crossed the Alps ; but he did not go by the way of Lombardy, as was the common custom, probably because he was afraid of Sforza ; however, he arrived at Rome, after having taken an oath that he would not exercise any right of sovereignty but with the pope's consent, and even humbled himself so far as to yield the precedence to the cardinals. He then received the crown of Italy and that of the empire from Pope Nicholas, after which he made haste to depart, as he had been required by the pontiff. Frederic III. was the last emperor that performed such a ceremony ; and it was probably an effect of his superstition, which was so great, that, before he would consummate his marriage even in Italy, he made use of all sorts of preservatives against enchantment, lest he should have a child whose character should resemble that of the Italians.

*The
reformation
of
the church
why
prevented.*

Let us not be surprised at the councils of Bâle and Constance having done so little good ; abuses could not be corrected without a considerable share of understanding ; and even princes and governments were but ill informed. Popular superstitions prevailed in every rank ; and the doctors of Paris, as well as the other adversaries of the court of Rome, were in general more assiduous to defend their beneficea,

than able to establish those truths which are essential to good government. Some extravagances were still to be seen, which disgraced the mode of worship: the feast of fools, the feast of asses, the custom of dragging people naked to church, who were found in bed the first of May, or the second holiday of Easter, and giving them a kind of baptism. Unchaste priests kept their concubines in other houses, and thought they did all that was required by the canons, which prohibited them from having *chamberers at home*. It was necessary that the council of Paris should explain the sense of the precept.

The dignitaries of the church, in some degree, still preserved their ancient manners. John, surnamed the *Merciless*, bishop of Liege, caused the whole garrison of a castle, which he had taken by assault, to be hanged; a priest served him as executioner; that priest was afterwards condemned to be burnt; and the prelate resigned his see, that he might marry a wife. Thus, manners and prejudices contended against schemes of reformation.

It was naturally to be expected, then, that religion would still afford a pretence for the most enormous excesses, until humanity should follow in the train of sound reason; men be no longer actuated by a selfish regard to the advantage of their peculiar order; true principles penetrate through the clouds of prejudice and interest; the people be instructed, and not blinded, by their guides; sound morals extinguish the rage of theological dissensions; and, lastly, the civil power show the respect which is due to religion, and confine its minis-

John the
Merciless,
bishop
of
Liege.

Religion
still a
pretence for
excesses.

ters within the bounds of their duty. The empire of the East, whose fall we shall have occasion to mention in the eighth epoch, mouldered away, because it never enjoyed these advantages.

EIGHTH EPOCH.

THE GREEK EMPIRE DESTROYED BY THE TURKS. THE FAMILY OF THE MEDICIS AT FLORENCE. FERDINAND AND ISABELLA IN SPAIN.

FROM THE MIDDLE TO NEAR THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

PROGRESS OF THE TURKS FROM THE TIME OF OTHMAN TO MAHOMET II. TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

From the time that Michael Paleologus drove the Latins out of Constantinople, in 1261, this empire, which was reduced to such a state of debility before the crusades, being equally exposed to the depredations of the Christians and Turks, and distracted by intestine commotions, preserved only a high sounding name, while it tottered on the brink of ruin. The monastic spirit seemed to quench the last glimmering rays of common sense. Narrow superstitious ideas directed the measures of government, while they did not check the course of heinous

Deporable
state
of
the Greek
empire.

crimes. Andronicus, the son of Paleologus, suffered himself to be persuaded, that the Greek empire was under the peculiar protection of heaven, and therefore a fleet was unnecessary. For this reason, that advantageous and indispensable defence was totally neglected ; and the consequence was, that the country was first ravaged by pirates, and then overrun by the Turks.

Othman
restores
the Turkish
power.

A great number of Turks had taken refuge in the mountains, that they might not be subjected to the yoke of the Mongol Tartars. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, they appeared again under the conduct of Othman, whose posterity fills the throne at this day, and to whom the Ottoman empire is indebted for its origin. Othman's rapid conquests paved the way for those of his successors. His son Orcan, already master of a great part of Asia Minor, was on his march to attack Thrace, when Cantacuzenus, colleague of the emperor John Paleologus I., gave him his daughter in marriage, in order to stop his progress. Cantacuzenus, who had usurped the empire, at last put on the monastic habit. John Paleologus, after having in vain supplicated the Italian states for succours, and submitted to the spiritual jurisdiction of Pope Urban, was obliged, in 1370, to conclude a shameful treaty with Amurath, son of Orcan, by which he obliged himself to pay tribute. The sultan had passed the Straits, taken Adrianople, and spread universal terror. He established the janissaries on the same footing as they are at present. He was murdered by a Christian renegado. His son Bajazet, surnamed *Ilderim* the Thunderer, was

still more formidable. Conquerors seldom degenerate till they reap, in peace, the delicious fruits of their conquests.

The whole Greek empire was reduced to little more than the precincts of Constantinople; yet discord still prevailed in it. Andronicus, eldest son of John Paleologus, revolted against his father, who had ordered his eyes to be put out. These dissensions were fomented by the Genoese, who, by help of their fleet, were become masters of the trade, and even of part of the city. The emperor was confined in prison two years. Having recovered his authority, he undertook to fortify Constantinople; but Bajazet sent him orders to demolish the works, and was obeyed. What a presage of unavoidable and speedy ruin!

Meantime, the Christian princes were alarmed, and roused to war, by the progress of the Turks. The flower of the French nobility, under John the *Fearless*, count of Nevers, hastened to join the army, which was commanded by Sigismond, king of Hungary, and afterwards emperor. This monarch having laid siege to Nicopolis on the Danube, Bajazet advanced, and viewed the situation of the enemy, when, perceiving that they only had courage, without the least share of prudence, he drew them into an ambuscade, and gained a great victory, in 1396. He is reproached with massacring almost all the prisoners; but the French had set him the example before the battle. At that time, France was distracted by furious factions under Charles VI.; and the laws of humanity were scarce better known in that country than among the Turks.

Troubles
at Constan-
tinople
fomented by
the
Genoese.

The
European
princes
march
against
Bajazet I.
1396.

*Manuel
Paleologus
begs
succours
from every
quarter.*

Constantinople was already besieged, and Manuel Paleologus, son and successor of John, purchased an appearance of peace, by submitting to an annual tribute of ten thousand pieces of gold, obliging himself to permit a mosque to be built, and to receive a cadi, for the administration of justice, among the Turks resident in the city. Afterwards, seeing a new storm gathering, he set out, and exposed his weakness to Italy, France, and England, imploring succours from every power, and finding none in condition to give it, though the spirit of the crusades still subsisted, with so many other follies. His only resource was in a Tartarian conqueror.

*Tamerlane
declares
against
Bajazet,
and
defeats him.*

Timour, or Tamerlane, descended, as it is said, from Genghiz Khan, by the female line, a native of Sogdiana, at present the country of the Usbecks, though born to no dominion, yet being endowed with genius, talents, and courage, capable of forming and executing great designs, had already subdued Persia, India, and Syria, when the enemies of Bajazet, Mussulmen and Christians, drew him into Asia Minor, as a hero who alone was capable of effecting their deliverance. In compliance with their request, he sent ambassadors to the sultan, threatening him with war, unless he restored all his conquests. Bajazet marched against him, met him near Ancvra, or Angouri in Phrygia, and, in 1402, lost a celebrated battle, in which more than three hundred and forty thousand men are said to have fallen. The sultan was taken prisoner, and, according to the Oriental historians, generously treated by the conqueror, instead of being confined in an iron

cage, and trampled under foot, as is commonly asserted.

The Turks by this defeat only lost an army. Whether Tamerlane found too great resistance from their valour, or other motives called him to a distance from Asia Minor, Manuel, thinking himself out of danger, demolished the mosque in Constantinople, and re-took some places. His vain hopes were still strengthened by the civil wars kindled among the sons of Bajazet. However, after the death of Mahomet I., who had dethroned and murdered his brother Moses or Musa, Amurath II., son of that Mahomet, soon laid siege to Constantinople ; but raised it, in order to quell the revolt of Mustapha his brother. He afterwards made himself master of Thessalonica, which had a little before been subjected to the Venetians, and Constantinople was threatened with more danger than ever.

Manuel died in a Monkish habit, and his successor, John Paleologus, threw himself, as we have seen, into the arms of the Latins. He imagined, that he could purchase succours from them by a re-union with their church ; but he only acquired the hatred of his subjects. At his return, in 1440, he found the people excited to sedition by the monks, who were enraged at the transactions in Florence. The bishops in his train, being detested as infidels, because they had signed the union, for the most part retracted ; and he himself lost much of his zeal, when he no longer thought it useful to his interests. Whoever in the least reflects on the fondness of the Greeks for sophistry and superstition, on the authority of

The Turks support themselves.

The Greeks break the union with the Roman church.

the monks among them, the particular reasons they had for being displeased with the popes, and the conduct of the ancient crusades at Constantinople, will be at no loss for the reasons which perpetuated the schism.

Hunniades
stops
the progress
of
Amurath.

Meantime Amurath made war in Hungary, then under the dominion of Ladislas VI., king of Poland, who had been crowned by the Hungarians, to the prejudice of young Ladislas, posthumous son of the emperor Albert. But this dreadful conqueror was stopped by the celebrated John Hunniades, at the head of the Hungarian armies, who forced him to raise the siege of Belgrade, beat him in several encounters, and reduced him to the necessity of suing for peace. Ladislas and Amurath swore a truce of ten years in 1444; and the latter, disgusted with his ill fortune, resigned the sceptre to his son, Mahomet II.; but the Christians, to their misfortune, drew him from his retreat by the commission of a piece of disgraceful treachery.

Truce
with the
Turks
shamefully
broken.

The Turks, depending on the faith of the truce, which they religiously observed, had drawn off their forces into Asia, and this was a reason for renewing the war; because it was thought easy to vanquish them, and deliver Europe from their depredations. The cardinal Julian Cesarini, legate of Eugenius IV., a violent and unprincipled man, who had signalized himself in the crusade against the Hussites, persuaded the Christians, that the treaty with the Turks was not obligatory; that it was null and impious, being concluded without the approbation of the pope; consequently, that it might, and even ought to be violated. This

judgment was confirmed by Eugenius, who commanded the truce to be broken, and absolved Ladislas from his oaths, according to the custom which had for several ages been established at Rome.

By what incredible blindness had the absurd maxim, that *faith ought not to be kept with heretics or infidels*, triumphed over the first principles of conscience and reason? How was it possible not to discern, that if perjury was, on some occasions, attended with temporary advantage, it necessarily led to the most fatal consequences? that it authorized the enemies wantonly to break their oaths; destroyed the public faith; broke the bonds of society, and substituted robbery and violence, instead of the law of nations? The Christians had ample reason to repent of their treachery.

The Turks, inflamed with just resentment, and breathing only vengeance, entreated Amurath to put himself once more at their head, his son Mahomet being too young. He marched against the enemy, defeated them at Varna in Bulgaria; and Ladislas was slain in this battle with the cardinal Julian. One thing more astonishing is, to see the victorious Amurath again abdicate the empire.

He was a second time obliged to quit his retirement, by the exploits of George Castriot, surnamed Scanderbeg, *Lord Alexander*, son of a prince of Albania, formerly Epirus. This young hero, who was carried off as a hostage after the conquest of his country, and educated in the court of Amurath, had gained that monarch's favour, by his superior abilities and extraordinary valour. Upon receiving news of

False
principle of
the
Christians.

1444.
Amurath
defeats them
at Varna,
and again
abdicates.

Scanderbeg
wrests
Albania
from
the Turks.

his father's death, he formed a resolution to deprive the Turks of the town of Croy, capital of Albania. Being at the head of a few troops, he obliged a secretary belonging to the court, who was passing near his camp, to sign an order to the governor of the place for putting it into his hands. This counterfeit order had the desired effect. Scanderbeg massacred the garrison, collected the inhabitants of the country under his standards, and made such prudent use of the advantage given him by its mountainous situation, that Amurath could never overpower him. The sultan died in 1451, and his son became the terror of the Christians.

**Amurath
II.
succeeded
by
Mahomet
II.**

Mahomet II., who is commonly painted in such odious colours, to injustice and cruelty, the ordinary vices of conquerors, joined an elevation of soul, a prudence and knowledge, worthy of commendation. He was acquainted with several languages, loved the arts, and cultivated astronomy. He had given two instances of uncommon moderation, by suffering his father to leave his retirement, and again ascend the throne. Where can his equal be found among the cotemporary princes? At the age of twenty-two he executed the great project formed by his ancestors, and made himself master of Constantinople in 1453.

**1453.
Siege of
Constanti-
nople.**

The siege of this capital offers to our view some interesting objects. The quarrels of theology divided the Greeks to the last extremity; yet they fought with all the courage of despair. Mahomet, being unable to force the harbour, which was defended by chains of enormous thickness, caused part of his fleet to be trans-

ported over land, in one night, for the space of two leagues, by sliding the vessels on a wooden platform covered with grease, by which almost incredible method, he found himself at once master of the port. It is alleged, that he had a piece of cannon so prodigiously large, that it required seventy pair of oxen to draw it. On which subject M. de Voltaire remarks, that, it being impossible to fire a very great quantity of powder together, the ball could not produce any considerable effect. ‘Perhaps,’ says he, ‘the Turks used such pieces from want of military skill, and the Greeks dreaded them from the same want of knowledge.’ Constantine Paleologus, who had succeeded John II., was slain in the thickest of the fight, when the Turks stormed the place. Under the reign of Constantine, Constantinople was destined to submit to the yoke of the Koran. Rome had been subjected to the dominion of the barbarians under an Augustus.

Sanguinary as Mahomet was, the manner in which he treated the vanquished did him honour. He left them in possession of several churches, performed in person the ceremony of installing a patriarch, restrained the fury of his soldiers, gave the emperor a magnificent funeral, and rendered Constantinople happy and flourishing. In a word, whatever reproaches he may deserve on some accounts, we see the great man through all his vices.

Hunniades had the glory of saving Belgrade when besieged by the sultan.* The knights

Success
of the Turks
in
his reign.

* John Capistran, a canonized Franciscan, one of the most violent zealots against the Hussites, Jews, and Turks, was present at this expedition, as preacher of the crusade. Hunniades and he, in their

of Rhodes, now of Malta, defended themselves in their isle with equal success. But after the death of Scanderbeg, he recovered Albania ; made himself master of Trebizond, where the name of a Greek empire still subsisted ; carried his arms as far as Trieste ; threatened Venice, and, in allusion to the extraordinary ceremony of the doge wedding the Adriatic, said, that *he would send him to consummate his marriage at the bottom of the sea.* His lieutenants took Otranto, and penetrated into Calabria. Italy and all Europe were struck with consternation, as in the time of the Arabians.

His death
in
1461. This formidable conqueror died in 1481, at an age when he was yet capable of executing the greatest enterprises, being only fifty-one years old. His posterity are still sovereigns at Constantinople, from whence learning and science are banished. The Greeks were become too contemptible for the Turks, whose government and religion were already settled, to adopt their laws, customs, opinions, and pursuits. This conquest, like that of the Germans, who destroyed the empire of the West, extinguished the feeble light which yet remained.

No European power defended Con: Constantinople. None of the European powers armed in defence of Constantinople. Yet they were unquestionably more interested in its preservation than the conquest of Jerusalem ; but the weakness of the states, their intestine quarrels, experience of the many misfortunes produced

accounts of it, make no mention of each other. Whether are we to ascribe the glory of the success to the preacher or the general ? The question was not clearly decided at that time ; but at present it seems no longer matter of doubt.

by those distant wars, want of political foresight, and harmony among the princes; perhaps, likewise, the embarrassment of the court of Rome, which had not then the same authority as formerly; all together facilitated the success of the Ottoman arms. Mahomet's hopes would probably have been blasted by numerous armies, under such generals as Scanderbeg and Hunniades. But let us return to the affairs of the West.

CHAPTER II.

END OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES VII. LOUIS XI.
TILL THE DEATH OF THE LAST DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

*End of the
reign
of Charles
VII.*

CHARLES VII. having driven out the English by the arms of his illustrious generals Dunois, Richemont, and La Hire, continued, by a prudent government, to cure the dreadful wounds of the state. But the end of his days was embittered by the rebellion of his son Louis, a man of dangerous character and a bad heart, who took refuge with the duke of Burgundy, and even gave room for suspicion of a design to murder his father. Charles died of grief in 1461.

*Re-
forma-
tion
of the
uni-versi-ty.*

Under his reign, the university of Paris was deprived of several privileges, because, going out of its sphere, and intermeddling in political affairs, it disturbed the government more than it enlightened the subjects. But what we ought particularly to observe is, the establishment of fifteen companies of *Ordonnance*, each consisting of six hundred horse, besides a body of four thousand foot. These were regular troops, always ready to take arms, for whose maintenance a perpetual *taille* was established, which at first amounted only to 1,800,000 livres ; but we shall find it increase under every

*Regu-
lar
troops.*

reign. It is easy to judge what strength the crown acquired by a standing army, which was the only sure method for destroying the independence of the vassals.

It ought not to be omitted, that the supplies furnished to the king by a rich merchant, named James Cœur, greatly contributed to the success of the French arms. His services were rewarded by the administration of the finances; but this office did not protect him from the injustice of the court. His enemies succeeded in their schemes for his ruin. He was at first accused of poisoning Agnes Sorel; a charge so absurd, that it fell to the ground of itself. But the crime principally insisted on was, his remitting money to the Mussulmen, with whom he carried on traffic. He justified himself, by alleging the permission of two popes to carry on a trade with them; a defence equally ridiculous with the imputation. Even his enemies were constituted his judges, by whom he was condemned to banishment, and his goods confiscated. Whether he had kept his hands entirely clean or not, this injustice, under a good prince, is a subject which ought to make us lament the manners of that age, and the dangers attendant on high fortune. James Cœur was obliged to depend for subsistence on the gratitudo of a few individuals.

Louis XI., son of Charles VI., was crafty, hypocritical, superstitious, and cruel. He strengthened the royal authority by methods more suitable for a tyrant, than worthy of a king. The instances of moderation which we meet with in his reign cannot wipe out the black crimes with which it is everywhere

James
Cœur
persecuted.

*Idea
of the reign
of Louis XI.
1461.*

stained. The great hinges of his politics were to deceive and oppress. But he sometimes felt by experience, that, by cunning and knavery, a man lays himself open to the perfidy of others, and that he who makes himself odious becomes unhappy by that very power which he so eagerly covets. As he hated the nobility, he employed men of low minds, who rewarded his favours with treachery. Like Tiberius, he was suspicious and sanguinary ; like him, stifled every appearance of merit, and destroyed men of superior talents. He had slaves instead of subjects ; yet the monarchy is in some measure indebted to him ; for at least he rescued it from the tyranny of the nobles.

Pius II.
The
pragmatic
sanction.

At the beginning of his reign, he fell into the snares of the court of Rome. Aeneas Sylvius Picolomini, the famous secretary of the council of Bâle, where he had distinguished himself in opposition to Eugenius IV., having changed sides in consideration of some benefices, for it was by that method Eugenius gained him over, had received the tiara in 1458, under the name of Pius II. His first care then was, to condemn appeals to a general council, as *an execrable abuse, and unheard-of in antiquity*. He attempted entirely to abolish the pragmatic sanction of Charles VII., though founded on those very decrees of Bâle which he had defended with the utmost warmth ; and succeeded by giving the king hopes of settling René of Anjou on the throne of Naples. However, the pope supported Ferdinand of Arragon, natural son and successor of Alphonso ; upon which Louis, enraged at being made a dupe, and ashamed of abolishing the pragmatic,

permitted the parliament to maintain it in a great measure; and the magistrates avenged his quarrel, by setting the thunders of Rome at defiance.

That we may not be obliged to return again to Pius II., who complained bitterly, that *the judge of judges, the Roman pontiff, was subjected to the judgment of the parliament*, let us here take notice of one of his letters addressed to Mahomet II., the substance of which is as follows. ‘ If you be desirous of extending your empire among the Christians, you stand in need only of a small matter, which is easily found, a little water for your baptism. We would then give you the title of emperor of the Greeks and the East, and implore the assistance of your arms against the usurpers of the possessions of the Roman church. After the example of our predecessors, Stephen, Adrian, and Leo, who transferred the empire of the Greeks to Pepin and Charlemagne, we would have recourse to you, nor would we be ungrateful.’ This letter from a pope to a Turkish sultan is perhaps less surprising than the endeavours of some writers to make it a proof of admirable zeal.

As Louis XI. was, above all things, desirous of humbling the nobles, their cabals soon produced a rebellion. Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, a magnificent and generous prince, who, after his reconciliation with the crown, paid the ransom of the duke of Orleans, a prisoner in England, and sacrificed a violent hatred to the glorious pleasure of conferring a benefit. This prince, I say, was too old and too wise to kindle a civil war; but his son,

Letter
of the pope
to
Mahomet
II.

League
of
the Public
Good
against
Louis XI.

Charles the Rash, who bore a personal enmity to the king, entered into a league with the duke of Berri, brother of Louis, and the dukes of Bourbon and Bretagne, under pretence of reforming the state, and relieving the people from oppression. Even Dunois, the virtuous Dunois, joined the rebels ; so intolerable were the unjust practices of the government.

The king tries to break it.

The bloody battle of Montlheri, fought in 1465, was indecisive ; yet the artful monarch, with whom it was always a maxim to negotiate in order to deceive, concluded a peace on dishonourable terms, yielding Normandy to his brother, and dismembering the domain among the principal chiefs. This league, though it bore the name of the *Public Good*, suffered the public miseries to continue, and even augmented them ; as is constantly the case, when ambition or restlessness cover rebellion under the mask of patriotism.

Is suspected of his brother's death.

The views of Louis were soon discovered. He took Normandy from his brother, giving him, in lieu of it, Guienne for his appanage ; but the new duke soon died of poison, which was given him by a monk, his almoner ; and the king was generally suspected of being the instigator of the crime. On the other side, while he was underhand endeavouring to stir up the inhabitants of Liege against Charles, who had succeeded Philip the Good in the duchy of Burgundy, he ventured to come to a conference with him at Peronne, doubtless with a design to draw him into a snare ; but his treachery succeeded ill. The people of Liege broke out into rebellion sooner than he expected, when the duke, transported with rage

at this insult, detained him prisoner, and at first resolved to put him to death ; but contented himself with a humiliating satisfaction, and obliged the king to attend him in his expedition against the rebels, whose city was soon reduced to ashes, and felt all the horrors of the most barbarous vengeance.

These two princes, slighting their treaties, were engaged in continual quarrels. The perfidy of the one irritated the impetuous temper of the other. At last, Charles fell into the abyss which his temerity had dug. Master of both Burgundies, of Artois, Flanders, and almost all Holland, he had purchased the domains of a duke of Austria in Alsace ; yet his ambition was not satisfied with such a height of power and immense riches. He was ambitious of the title of king, and proposed to subdue Switzerland, and make a conquest of Lorraine. In vain did the Swiss send him a deputation, representing the poverty of their country, which, as they expressed themselves, was not worth the bits of his horses, and the spurs of his knights. He entangled himself in their defiles, and was defeated in 1476, at Granson and Morat. The following year he undertook an expedition against Nancy, where he was again beaten, and lost his life in the engagement.

One particular worth mentioning in history is, that after the battle of Granson, his silver plate was sold for tin, and his finest diamonds, valued at two millions of French livres, passed through several hands for the price of a florin. So great was the simplicity of the Swiss ! A people, who had not even an idea of luxury,

Ambition
and
temerity
of
duke
Charles.
Switzerland 1476.

Simplicity
of
the Swiss.

unquestionably deserved the liberty which they purchased with their blood. In process of time, we shall find them better acquainted with society and the polite pleasures of life. Happy, if they always use them with prudence, not suffering corruption to creep in amongst them, not envying the opulence of other nations, or losing those sentiments of equality which foster republican virtue ! I shall speak in another place of the government of the Thirteen Cantons, which was then beginning to be formed.

Burgundy
reunited to
France.

Mary, daughter of Duke Charles, being his sole heiress, the duchy of Burgundy, as a male fief, reverted to the crown by the law of appanages. Louis might have made an acquisition of all her other dominions, by a marriage between that princess and the dauphin. He actually formed such a design ; but took his measures so ill, that he filled Mary with distrust, and made himself odious to the Flemings. That stubborn and factious people seized the reins of government, caused the two ministers of their sovereign to be executed, and obliged her to marry Maximilian, duke of Austria, son of the emperor Frederic III. We shall find this marriage a continual source of wars and public calamities.

CHAPTER III.

Factions of York and Lancaster, which destroyed the house of the Plantagenets.
Treaty of Pecquigny,

THE factions of York and Lancaster, the first distinguished by the *White Rose*, the second by the *Red Rose*, had long contended with the most violent animosity in England, where the turbulent and fierce spirit of the nation gave a loose to all the rage of civil discords. We have seen the house of Mortimer robbed of the crown by the duke of Lancaster, who reigned under the name of Henry IV. Richard, duke of York, heir of that family, attempted to realize his rights against the weak Henry VI., and, raising a rebellion in 1455, took the king prisoner at the battle of St Albans ; but, being naturally moderate and irresolute, left the title of King to Henry, contenting himself with that of Protector.

Duke of
York
rebels
against
Henry VI.

The royal authority was again established by Margaret of Anjou, a woman comparable to the heroes of chivalry ; but this revolution was of no long standing. In 1460, she lost the battle of Northampton against the famous earl of Warwick, when Henry was again taken prisoner. His wife delivered him a third time by gaining two victories, in one of which the

Heroic
courage of
Margaret
of
Anjou.

duke of York was slain ; but his son Edward, a young prince, equally brave and ambitious, supported his father's pretensions with more success. In 1461, he was proclaimed at London, and immediately after gained over Margaret the bloody battle of Taunton, where thirty-six thousand men were slain on both sides. The parliament then acknowledged the right of the strongest, notwithstanding the prior acts passed in three reigns confirming the title of the Lancastrian family. Thus every thing, even laws and principles, depends upon the caprice of Fortune !

1461.
Henry
dethroned
by
Edward IV.

Margaret
again
vanquished,
and a
fugitive.

The intrepid Margaret, having received some succours from Louis XI. and from Scotland, returned to attack the usurper ; but was again beaten at Hexham, in 1464. In her flight through the woods, she met a robber, who rushed upon her sword in hand : *Come forward, my friend*, said she to him ; *I commit to your care the son of your king*. The robber, struck with veneration, secured her escape. She soon after took refuge in France, and the unfortunate Henry remained a close prisoner in the tower of London.

Edward
incurs the
hatred of the
earl of
Warwick.

Edward IV. confirmed with blood a throne which he had purchased by so many massacres ; but the more cruelty he excited, the more he exposed himself to revolutions. The face of affairs was changed by a fault, into which he was drawn by love. While Warwick, to whom he was principally indebted for the crown, was negotiating for him a marriage with Bona of Savoy, sister to the queen of France, he privately married Elizabeth Woodville, widow of a private gentleman, with whom he was de-

perately in love, and whom he had in vain attempted to seduce. On this news, Warwick was filled with indignation, returned to England, formed cabals, drew over the malecontents to his party, and even the duke of Clarence, the king's brother; after which he reconciled himself to Margaret, his mortal enemy, undertaking to restore the king whom he had dethroned, and to dethrone him whom he had set up.

It is scarce possible to conceive the rapidity <sup>Henry VI.
restored.</sup> of the execution. He landed, and more than sixty thousand Englishmen flocked to his standard. Edward fled, after a battle, in the night, and lost the kingdom in eleven days. Henry VI. was taken out of his prison, and again acknowledged; and the parliament repealed the acts, by which so many other acts had been repealed.

Seven months after happened a new revolution. Edward IV. having obtained some slight succours from the duke of Burgundy, landed on the coast of England with two thousand men, in order, as he said, to recover only his duchy of York. His partisans hastened to join him. Warwick fought a battle at Barnet, without waiting for Queen Margaret, where he was defeated and slain. The heroine fought in her turn at Tewkesbury; but lost the battle and her liberty. The prince of Wales, her son, who was likewise a prisoner, speaking haughtily to the conqueror, received a blow from him, and was immediately murdered by the dukes of Gloucester and Clarence; the latter of whom had betrayed Warwick, and joined the king, his brother. The death of Henry

^{1471.}
Murders
of
the
princes.

VI., who was assassinated a few days afterwards, makes the last act of this horrid tragedy.

Edward IV. attacks France. The atrocity of Edward's character did not prevent his indulging in pleasures. These were even his ruling passion; but the national hatred against the French name, inflamed by the intrigues of Charles the Rash, who was still alive, rousing him from the bosom of voluptuousness, he summoned Louis XI. to restore Normandy and Guienne, and advanced at the head of an army to obtain by force what he could not gain by fair means.

Louis XI. purchases a peace. Had not the impetuous Burgundian rashly attacked Lorraine, without waiting for the English, France would have been in the most imminent danger. Louis carefully avoided a war: his favourite weapons were subtilty and money. Not being very delicate on the point of honour, provided he could remove the danger, he entered into a negociation, bribed the English ministers, and, by the treaty of Pecquigny in 1475, purchased a disgraceful truce for seven years, by a pension or annual tribute of fifty thousand crowns of gold. The only honourable article in the treaty was the deliverance of Margaret of Anjou, whose ransom was paid by the king, and that heroine returned to end her days in her native country.

Edward puts his brother to death. As the order of ideas is of more importance than that of dates, let us rapidly pursue the tragical history of the two *Roses* to its conclusion. Edward IV., equally cruel and voluptuous, stained with the blood of the royal house of Lancaster, likewise shed that of his brother the duke of Clarence, to whom he was

in part indebted for the last revolution. In order to gratify his hatred and suspicion, he caused the duke to be arrested, and tried by the parliament, which was then the slave of the court. He was condemned, though convicted of no capital offence, and only allowed to choose the manner of his death ; upon which the whimsical prince was, agreeably to his request, drowned in a ton of Malmsey.

Edward dying in 1482, while he was preparing to renew the war against France, the duke of Gloucester, his other brother, a monster of wickedness, who was regent of the kingdom during the minority of Edward V., eldest son of the late king, formed a design to usurp the crown of England. At first view, this project must appear entirely chimerical ; for Edward had not only left two sons, but there were surviving children of the duke of Clarence, an elder brother of Gloucester. But this consideration did not deter him. By a murder, he rid himself of Lord Hastings, the great chamberlain, who was a zealous loyalist. He had the effrontery to publish a report, that the late king and the duke of Clarence were bastards ; thus defaming his own mother, who was still alive. He gave himself out for the only lawful heir, and was proclaimed by a few wretches, whose purchased acclamations he made to pass for the voice of the people ; caused young Edward, and his brother the duke of York, to be murdered in the Tower ; and, so early as 1483, had got possession of the throne ; after which the parliament was compelled to acknowledge him, under the name of Richard III.

Bloody
usurpation
of the
duke of
Gloucester,

Richard
dethroned
by the earl
of
Richmond.
1485.

So many atrocious deeds were only calculated to rouse the vengeance of a brave nation. The Lancastrian party resumed courage, and cast their eyes on Henry earl of Richmond, grandson of that Owen Tudor who had married the widow of Henry V. He was heir to the house of Lancaster, but by the female line, and even by a legitimated branch, which the very act of legitimation excluded from the crown. Richmond, being proscribed, had found an asylum in Bretagne ; but the hatred of tyranny was alone sufficient to set him on the throne. We here have an example of those sudden revolutions so common in the history of England. In 1485, the earl arrived on the coast of Wales, with about two thousand men furnished by France, and in a little time found himself at the head of a considerable army, with which he attacked Richard at Bosworth ; who being deserted by one of his generals, lost the battle, and was slain fighting with great courage.

House
of
Plantagenet
extin:
guished.

Thus, after a civil war of thirty years, after twelve pitched battles, and numberless acts of barbarity, the house of Anjou Plantagenet, which had reigned three hundred and thirty years, perished in torrents of blood. Thus, relations and brothers, giving way to inveterate rage, were mutually the destroyers of each other, while they tore the bowels of their native country. If ambition is not deterred by those horrid events, let the people, at least, dread being the instruments of her madness, in order to become sooner or later her victims !

Henry VII.
strengthens
his title.

Richmond, who mounted the throne, under the name of Henry VII., had recourse to the

expedient of procuring a bull from the pope, in confirmation of his rights ; which is a proof that he thought them weak and uncertain, though the parliament had declared, that the right of succession was vested in his person. In compliance with the wishes of the nation, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., and thus united the titles of York and Lancaster. This monarch enjoyed almost perpetual tranquillity during a reign of twenty-four years ; in the course of which we shall find him humble the great lords, extend the prerogatives of the crown, and govern England nearly in the same manner as Louis XI. governed France, with less rigour, but the same interested and political views.

That the kings in this period generally aimed at extending their authority, might be owing to their passions ; yet this seemed necessary for the public good, as no other method was left to establish order, and enforce obedience to the laws. For several centuries, history only presents us with the spectacle of vast monarchies a perpetual prey to discord, not from a zeal for political liberty, but the factions of the nobles, always eager to make encroachments. How could such disorders be repressed, if the royal authority continued without power ?

Royal
authority
increased,

CHAPTER IV.

PARTICULARS OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XI.

Cruelties
of
Louis XI.

Louis died in 1483. Let us here collect, in one view, some interesting particulars of his reign, of which we could not take notice elsewhere. If, according to the expression of Francis I., Louis XI. *enfranchised the kings*, if he made the powerful submit to the yoke, he accomplished it by acts of injustice and cruelty. The most illustrious men lost their heads on a scaffold; in which number were the constable de St Paul, his brother-in-law, the count d'Armagnac, the dukes d'Alençon and Nemours; and the infant children of the last were, by the king's order, sprinkled with the blood of their father. These executions were possibly the punishment of treason; but tyranny, rather than equity, commonly presided on the seat of judgment. Suspicions were frequently substituted for proofs, and were multiplied in proportion to the hatred entertained against the gloomy monarch. Tristan the hermit, a sanguinary *prevôt*, his friend, and the minister of his vengeance, is celebrated among the inventors of tortures. What a friend for a king!

The
great fiefs
re-united
to
the crown.

Had it not been for the military force established in the last reign, and the care which Louis XI. took to avoid a war, even at the ex-

pense of his honour, such a government would have met with violent shocks. But circumstances were favourable to him. Of the ancient great vassals there remained only the dukes of Bretagne and Burgundy ; and the death of the latter, without issue male, augmented the power of the crown, which would have made immense acquisitions, had the dauphin married his daughter. Besides, Provence was bequeathed to it by the count de la Marche, nephew and heir of René of Anjou.

After the nobles had ruined their fortunes by the crusades ; the people had freed themselves from slavery ; the appeal to the king's courts was firmly established ; the parliaments were composed of lawyers, and acted upon fixed principles. After the kings issued ordinances in quality of legislators, and recovered the principal rights of sovereignty, the feudal anarchy daily fell to ruin.

The states assembled in 1468, made a regulation extremely well calculated for the prevention of those disorders, which had so often occasioned the dismemberment of the monarchy. They declared, that Normandy could not be detached from the crown ; and that the king, as to what concerned his brother, might act conformably to a declaration of Charles V., with regard to the appanage of the children of France, which had been fixed at twelve thousand livres a year, in lands erected into a duchy or county. These twelve thousand livres would at present make about one hundred and twenty-four thousand.

Louis XI. was a monarch of a vicious and inconsistent character ; absolute without digni- Character
of
Louis XI.

The feudal anarchy declines.

*Regulation
with regard
to
apanages.*

ty, popular without mildness ; systematically unjust, and yet zealous for the administration of justice ; unprincipled and perfidious, while he made an open profession of subtlety. He violated the first duties of morality, and gave himself up to the most ridiculous superstitions ; decorated himself with the title of *Most Christian*, and rendered religion contemptible or odious ; tyrannized over his subjects, while he trembled, like a slave, before his physician ; and debased, though, notwithstanding, he strengthened, the royal authority ; which he effected by a dexterous use of that powerful engine, money. He augmented the *taille* three millions. If we believe him, he took the money of the people only to spare their blood, as if it had not been possible to be sparing of both. Yet he had, at least, the prudence to despise that fatal ambition, which delights more in extending than securing dominion ; and this was really sparing the people.

Refused
the
sovereignty
of
Genoa.

The republic of Genoa, being ill governed, because the nobles oppressed the multitude, had often sought a master, but was equally incapable of obedience, and preserving her independence. That state had submitted to Charles VI. and revolted against him ; she had successively put herself under the dominion of the marquis of Montferrat, the duke of Milan, and Charles VII., and had rebelled against them all. She now made an offer of the sovereignty to Louis XI., who replied, *I give you to the devil.* He inherited the rights of the house of Anjou to the throne of Naples, but took care not to turn his views towards that quarter. His son, as we

shall see afterwards, was less prudent, and drew upon himself a number of misfortunes.

Louis XI. established posts, which were at first destined solely for carrying the despatches of government and those of the pope. The university of Paris had set him the example by the couriers they kept. He instituted the order of St Michael, which, with that of the Golden Fleece, founded by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, greatly contributed to the fall of the ancient chivalry. He encouraged the French to cultivate trade, which, from want of skill, they abandoned to foreigners. He purposed to publish a code for the administration of justice. But what can we think of a prince, who chose such men for his ministers as cardinal Balue and Olivier le Daim? The first, whom he had raised from the dunghill, a mean-spirited and unprincipled wretch, villainously betrayed him. The second, who became a great lord, after having been his barber, was hanged for an infamous crime, in the beginning of the reign of Charles VIII.

Posts
established.

CHAPTER V.

TEMPESTUOUS GOVERNMENT OF FLORENCE, TILL
LORENZO DE MEDICIS INCLUSIVELY.

ITALY will now attract our attention, where we shall see the French coming in search of conquest, and finding only their graves. But, before we give the history of their wars for the kingdom of Naples, let us cast our eyes on Florence, and view the glorious epoch of the Medicis.

Florentine
republic
on a
bad basis.

After the Italian cities had shaken off the German yoke, the spirit of liberty principally displayed itself at Florence. Its citizens, whose activity and genius merit high commendations, would have founded a powerful and lasting republic, could they have extinguished the flames of faction. Unhappily, that simplicity, which ought to be the basis of a republican government; that equality, so necessary to keep all the subjects in obedience to the laws; that love of the public weal, to which every thing ought to give place, could not be revived, except by prodigies of legislation, no example of which is to be found in modern Italy.

Happy
government
after
the death
of
Frederic II.

After the death of Frederic the Second, a coalition of the Guelph and Gibeline factions seemed to be formed at Florence. The government was intrusted to twelve annual magistrates; and two foreign judges were elected

for the trial of causes ; so apprehensive was this people lest citizens should give umbrage to each other. These beginnings were so successful, that, in ten years, Florence had drawn into her alliance Pistoia, Sienna, and Arezzo, subjected Volterra, and governed in Tuscany with uncontrolled dominion.

The factions soon reviving, the Guelphs drove out the Gibelines, who, in their turn, expelled the Guelphs. For a long time we meet with nothing but a continued series of disturbances, changes, and acts of violence. The nobles, the *cittadini* or burghers, and the lower people, again formed so many irreconcilable parties.

In 1282, all the nobility were excluded from the government, which was put into the hands of merchants and tradesmen, with the title of *Lords*. Afterwards a gonfalonier, *standard-bearer*, was created from the body of the people, who, having the command of a body of troops, was to be ready to assist the *lords*. New disorders were produced by the new administration. In order to keep the nobles in their duty, a method was contrived entirely calculated to irritate them. As witnesses durst not depose against them, the magistrates were authorized to pass sentence on public report, or common rumour. It was not perceived, that an arbitrary method of administering justice would necessarily increase licentiousness.

The nobles gained ground, but split into two factions, the *white* and the *black*, armed against each other, to tear their country in pieces ; and these divisions still increased the general weakness. The cities of Tuscany withdrew their obedience. Castruccio Castracani, master of

Factions
and
revolutions.

The
nobility
excluded.
Gon:
falonier.

Intestine
quarrels.

Lucca and Pisa, filled Florence with terror. They had put themselves under the dominion of Robert, king of Naples, for five years, and became voluntarily subject to his son Charlea. In 1328 they recovered their liberty, again lost it, and afterwards recovered it.

Bull
against them
by
Gregory XI. Notwithstanding so many storms, they still retained a name which imposed respect ; for the rebellious cities voluntarily returned to subjection, when the Florentines offered to renounce all claim of sovereignty, and to be content with their alliance. Pope Gregory XI. and the Visconti were baffled in their attempts to subdue them. The style used by the court of Rome, in such circumstances, is well known ; but we meet here with a remarkable peculiarity. The pope, when he laid the republic under an interdict, condemned the citizens to slavery, and granted the property of that excommunicated people to the first who should seize it.

Fruitless
re:
formations. It would be superfluous and tiresome to give a more particular detail of perpetual struggles and unimportant reformations, never of any real utility. Florence had scarcely enjoyed a few years repose, when the storms again broke out with violence. The Guelphs persecuted the Gibelins ; the people could not bear the nobles ; the nobles and *cittadini* caballed to enslave the people. The republic gave a picture of the Athenian democracy ; but no Solon had appeared among them, nor had they yet acquired the gentleness of manners which characterized Athens ; accordingly their dissensions were often bloody.

Prudence
and The Medicis, a family which had enriched itself by commerce, by their merit and benefi-

cence, at last acquired the authority necessary for extirpating so many abuses. Silvester Medici, who enjoyed the dignity of gonfalonier about the middle of the fourteenth century, laid the foundations of a reformation, which was at first attended with very little success. However, the dominion of the people from that period began to decline. Veri Medici appeared the troubles, and, though he might have seized the government, rather chose still to act the citizen. John Medici followed his example, rose to all the dignities without the least tincture of ambition, by his prudence tempered the animosity of the different parties, and under him the republic enjoyed a tranquillity, which till then it had never known.

Cosmo, son to John, had the glory of surpassing his father. His enemies, envious of his merit and reputation, accused him before the supreme council, and he was banished, as Aristides and Camillus had been; but was almost immediately recalled, because nothing but disorder prevailed in his absence. The title of *Father of his Country* was the noble reward of his virtues.

No government, faulty in its principle, changeable at the pleasure of faction, and every instant ready to fall to pieces for want of laws and harmony, can be reformed, except by extraordinary methods. The more licentious liberty prevails, the more does the republic, though insensibly, approach to monarchy. The government of Florence was put into the hands of a commission, which was obliged to be renewed six times in the space of twenty-one years, till 1455. Cosmo Medici was the head and soul of

Commissioners appointed.

this magistracy, and employed his authority only for the promotion of the public good. The commission was at last suppressed by the cabals of ambitious men, who strove to rule in their turn. Pitti, the gonfalonier, a man of enterprising temper, restored it by force, and exercised the authority with rigour. Cosmo, enfeebled by old age, rather suffered his colleague to act than acted himself.

Peter Medici, who succeeded Cosmo, in 1464, being almost incapable of managing affairs, on account of his ill state of health, the enemies of that powerful and respectable family conspired its destruction. Their plot did not succeed, and the commission was renewed; but Peter's inactivity occasioned perpetual cabals. After his death, all the black arts of hatred and envy were employed against his sons Julian and Lorenzo.

The Pazzi, whose family was one of the most illustrious in Florence, resolved to assassinate those two citizens, whom they could not bring down without an act of villainy. Pope Sixtus IV. was not ashamed to enter into their views; and an archbishop of Pisa, named Salviati, was the soul of this infamous conspiracy. An attempt was made, under the mask of friendship, to draw the Medicis to an entertainment, where death awaited them. Julian having refused the invitation, though he did not entertain the least distrust, the church itself was pitched upon for the scene of the murder. During the celebration of mass, at the elevation of the host, which was the signal agreed upon, the conspirators drew their poignards, and stabbed the two victims. Julian expired

1478.
Julian
Medici
assassinated
in
a church.

on the spot ; but Lorenzo defended himself, and escaped. The people instantly avenged their benefactors. The murderers were torn in pieces, and the archbishop of Pisa himself was hanged.

Lorenzo
escapes.

It would seem, that Sixtus ought to have dissembled and been silent, in order to hide his own shame ; but he let loose against the Florentines all the thunders of the church. They at first despised the interdict, and implored the protection of France. Louis XI., who was still alive, from generosity, or motives of policy, declared in their favour. He threatened to re-establish the pragmatic sanction, sent a body of troops, and held out against the artifices of the Romish court. At last, the pope granted what he could no longer refuse ; but the pontifical authority always triumphed by the humiliations it imposed, on condition of disarming. The Florentine ambassadors were obliged to submit to flagellation when they received absolution.

Sixtus IV.
excom:
municates
Florence.

Nothing could be a stronger justification of the zeal testified by the Florentines in favour of the Medicis, than the manner in which Lorenzo governed their republic. A protector of learning and the fine arts, as his grandfather, Cosmo, had been ; liberal, with a judicious magnificence, and less solicitous of performing brilliant than good actions ; at home, a magistrate without pomp, continuing the commerce carried on by his ancestors. He surpassed all the princes of his time, not only in real merit, but by the influence he had in the affairs of Italy, and the success of his prudent policy.

Lorenzo
governs like
a
great man.

He
proposes
to
establish
peace
in Italy.

To restore peace in Italy, which, for several centuries, had been a theatre of usurpations, wars, and tragical revolutions, was a project worthy of a great man, and it was formed by him. The Venetians, pressed on one side by the Turks, on the other fell upon Lombardy. Lodovico Sforza, surnamed the Moor, had taken Milan from young John Galeazzo, his nephew, to whom he left only an empty title. Ferdinand, king of the Two Sicilies, natural son of Alphonso, and father-in-law of John Galeazzo, was more irritated against Lodovico, as he himself had some pretensions on Milan. Every thing then threatened new wars, and Florence must certainly be the principal sufferer in the fray ; but Lorenzo had dexterity enough to prevent them. He not only effected a reconciliation between Ferdinand and Lodovico, but engaged them in a league with the Florentines for the maintenance of peace. The Venetians suspended their conquests. Pope Innocent VIII. in vain attempted to dethrone the king of Naples. Italy had time to breathe, and at last enjoyed happiness ; but she lost Lorenzo de Medici too soon, who died in 1492, at the age of forty-three. He was succeeded by his son, Peter, a man of no merit, and the flames of war soon spread universal devastation,

Death
of
Lorenzo.
1492.

CHAPTER VI.

REIGN OF CHARLES VIII. IN FRANCE. FRUITLESS
CONQUEST OF NAPLES.

From the year 1483, the crown of France had been worn by Charles VIII., a young prince, ill educated, rash, and incapable of application. He had ascended the throne at the age of thirteen, and by the last will of Louis XI., the kingdom was to be governed during the king's minority by his eldest sister, Anne, wife of Peter de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu. This arrangement gave birth to a civil war. The duke of Orleans, afterwards king Louis XII., claimed the regency, which he attempted to get into his own hands; but not succeeding, rebelled, and entered into a league with the duke of Bretagne and Maximilian of Austria; however, he was defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of St Aubin.

A short time after died the duke of Bretagne, without issue male. Anne his daughter, heiress of that large province, was already married by proxy to Maximilian, who had buried his first wife, the heiress of Burgundy. In order to reunite that duchy to the crown, Anne was prevailed on, not without difficulty,

Troubles at
the
beginning
of
the reign of
Charles
VIII.

The
king marries
the heiress
of
Bretagne.

to break off a marriage which she desired, and espouse the king of France, whom she did not love. The duke of Orleans, though he entertained a passion for that princess, had the generosity to serve Charles VIII. in a matter so delicate. This illustrious rebel was become a zealous subject. The king, by taking him out of prison, had inspired him with gratitude, and the duke only thought of cancelling the memory of his revolt by the lustre of his virtues.

The archduke Maximilian takes arms. Margaret of Austria, daughter of the archduke Maximilian, who had been long before bethrothed to Charles, and was even educated at the court of France till she should be marriageable, was now to be sent back ; and her father, irritated by this double affront, breathed revenge. He took up arms, as he had often done ; but having little power in the Low Countries, and with difficulty procuring a small reinforcement from the emperor Frederic III., he would probably have lost part of his dominions, had not the minds of the French been fascinated by the insensate desire of making distant conquests. Flatterers, who study the weak side of princes, to turn it to their own advantage, excited Charles to support his claim on the kingdom of Naples. Intoxicated with this project, he restored to Maximilian Franche Comté and Artois, which had been seized by Louis XI., and in the same manner gave back Rousillon and Cerdagne to Ferdinand the Catholic, only requiring of him, in return, to observe a neutrality in the Italian war. At last he set out, almost without taking any precautions, on this dangerous expedition,

which he looked upon as a journey for pleasure.

Lodovico Sforza and the too-celebrated Alexander VI., Borgia, had invited him themselves ; for after the death of Lorenzo de Medici, the system of union and peace no longer subsisted. Trusting to them was not the least imprudence of which Charles VIII. was guilty. Peter Medici rashly refused him a passage ; but being soon intimidated by the French arms, granted whatever was required of him, and was driven out by the Florentines, who were more firm in their resolutions. The monarch appeared before their city with all the pomp of a conqueror, and wanted to impose on them intolerable conditions ; but one of the deputies replied with spirit, *Since you make such demands, sound your trumpets, and we will ring our bells.* This instance of firmness determined him to content himself with concluding an alliance.

The pope had already repented of having brought in the French, and joined Alfonso II., the king of Naples, against them ; upon which Charles marched immediately to Rome, and entered it at the head of his troops. Alexander, being shut up in the castle of St Angelo, was obliged to come to a treaty ; after which the king kissed his feet, served him with water to wash during the celebration of mass, and took his station behind the dean of the sacred college.

A circumstance more remarkable is, that the pope was obliged to put into his hands a Turkish prince, named Zizim, son of the formidable Mahomet II. Zizim, after an un-

1404.
Charles
at
Florence.

Charles
betrayed
by
Alexander
VI.

Zizim
delivered up
and
poisoned.

successful rebellion against his brother Bajazet, had taken refuge among the Christians. Alexander probably designed to deliver him up to the sultan, from whom he was soliciting succours, and is suspected of having poisoned him before he put him into the king's hands. Every species of suspicion may fall upon this monster, who was a disgrace to the tiara and to the church.

1405.
Conquest
of
Naples.

Meantime the Neapolitans seemed to invite the conqueror. Alphonso, who had rendered himself odious by his tyranny, fled into Sicily, where he concealed himself in a monastery, and his son Ferdinand II. retired to an island. Charles had only the trouble of showing himself, and five months after his departure from France was master of Naples. Successes so rapid, with a small army unprovided with money, can be attributed only to a panic which seized the Italians. They were unacquainted with war, though engaged in continual quarrels among themselves; they had neither regular troops nor large cannon; their battles were only a kind of justs, attended with very little bloodshed. To repulse the enemy and keep the field was to them a victory, soon decided, while innumerable murders were produced by intestine feuds and personal revenge. The impetuous valour of the French, therefore, necessarily overthrew every thing before it at the first shock; a fruitless advantage, if prudence did not cement a conquest more easily made than kept; but the French vivacity was not yet tempered with that virtue.

Faults committed
Pleasures, entertainments, extortions, avarice, and licentiousness; no care taken to con-

ciliate the affections of the new subjects ; no precaution used to prevent attacks from other states ; such were the methods at first used by those formidable conquerors to secure their dominion. Charles gave himself up entirely to amusements, and abandoned the administration of affairs to men unworthy of his confidence. His enemies were on the watch, and profited by his mistakes. The pope Alexander, Maximilian, who had mounted the imperial throne, after the death of the weak Frederic, in 1493, Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Spain, the Venetians, and Lodovico duke of Milan, his nephew, whom he had stripped of his dominions, being now dead, formed a league to drive out the French, and restore Ferdinand II.

Charles, without attempting to avert this storm, or taking his measures according to the conjunctures, thought only of returning home. He left three or four thousand men at Naples, and set out with the rest of the army, whose numbers were reduced to seven or eight thousand. The confederate army, amounting to thirty thousand, waited for him in the Parmesan ; but, intimidated by his boldness, they deliberated a long time whether they should attack him. At last they came to a resolution, and giving him battle at Fornuovo, were defeated in less than an hour, with the loss of three thousand men, while there fell only two hundred of their enemies.

This victory, so glorious to Charles VIII., served only to open him a passage. The kingdom of Naples was lost the year following, 1496 ; Gonsalvo of Cordova, a celebrated Spa-

by
the French.

Charles
returns into
France.

1496.
Loss
of the
kingdom of
Naples.

Death
of Charles
VIII.
1498.

nish general, finding it an easy task to drive out a handful of French, who were detested in the country. This would have been a real happiness to France, had that nation learned from this disaster to act with discretion. The king died young, in 1498. His four children being dead, he was succeeded by Louis duke of Orleans. I defer to another epoch the reign of that prince, who, though possessed of great virtues, was incurably tainted with the fatal ambition of reigning in Italy.

CHAPTER VII.

OF SPAIN. REIGN OF HENRY IV. IN CASTILE. BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC AND ISABELLA.

SPAIN, so long divided, weak, and in a manner unconnected with the general system of Europe, now becomes a considerable power, which, from this period, will demand particular attention. In order to discover the origin of its grandeur, we must go back to a reign of all others the most unfortunate and opprobrious.

Henry IV., surnamed the *Impotent*, notwithstanding his continual debaucheries, ascended the throne of Castile in 1454. He was a descendant of Henry Transtamara, who, as we have seen before, acquired the crown by the murder of his brother. The new court seemed to be characterized by every vice which can degrade human nature. Henry passed his life among a crowd of minions and mistresses; and queen Joanna, sister of the king of Portugal, copying his example, openly kept gallants. As pleasure was their only business, the affairs of the nation necessarily grew worse every day. A ruinous magnificence was looked upon as

Henry IV.
of
Castile.
Debauchery
of
his court.

real grandeur. Louis XI. having been chosen arbiter between the kings of Castile and Aragon, Henry, in an interview with him, being disgusted at the slovenly simplicity which he affected, conceived the utmost contempt for that prince and the French in general; but he was duped in the negociation, even by those in whom he reposed the greatest confidence. On the discovery of their treachery, he disgraced them, and put in their place Bertrand de la Cueva, whose adulterous correspondence with the queen gave scandal to the whole realm. This choice made the fire of rebellion burst into a flame, which had long lain dormant under the ashes.

Revolt
against
Henry.
Battle
of Olmedo.

The malecontents, headed by Carillo archbishop of Toledo, formed and executed projects which seem almost incredible. In 1464, they forced the king to acknowledge his brother Alphonso heir to the crown, in prejudice of Joanna his daughter, to whom they had already sworn allegiance, and sent to Rome to demand a dispensation from that oath which they had violated. The following year, they deposed Henry IV. in effigy upon a scaffold; a ceremony equally extravagant and unexampled. Both sides ran to arms. The battle of Olmedo was indecisive; but the king became still more contemptible by his not being present. The archbishop of Toledo fought with distinguished courage, wearing a stole over his armour, and, though wounded, was the last to quit the field. We shall afterwards find several prelates signalize themselves in war.

Spain had likewise her heroines. A lady of Villalva, who defended the royal cause in Castile ; and a queen of Arragon, who fought for her husband against John of Anjou, duke of Lorraine, proclaimed king at Barcelona.

Spanish heroines.

Alphonso, who had been crowned by the Castilian rebels, died suddenly in 1468, at the age of fifteen ; but this accident did not damp their spirit. They imposed conditions on Henry IV., and obliged him to declare his sister Isabella heiress of the crown ; to disinherit Joanna his daughter, and send her with the queen into Portugal. A legate took part in the treaty. Joanna was supposed to be a bastard of Cueva ; and this notion, kept up by a furious faction, deprived her of rights which, at another time, would unquestionably have been respected.

Henry IV.
disinherits
his
daughter
Joanna.

The hand of Isabella immediately became an object of intrigue and ambition. The king of Portugal wanted to marry her. Louis XI. demanded her for his brother ; and the king of Arragon for his son Ferdinand. It was for the advantage of the rebels to prefer the last, who was the most capable of supporting them. Henry's inclinations leaned another way, but he had no power. As the treaty was spun out to a great length, a method was hit upon to bring it to a conclusion, which was worthy of all the steps already taken. Ferdinand came to Valladolid in disguise, where the archbishop of Toledo privately performed the ceremony of marriage, and even assured them, that he had the pope's dispensation, though it did not arrive till three years afterwards. Such a pre-

Isabella
his sister
marries
Ferdinand.

late certainly deserved to be at the head of a conspiracy.

New
civil war.
Death
of
Henry IV.
1474.

Henry, transported with rage at this proceeding, disinherited his sister, and restored his daughter to her rights, whom he offered in marriage to the duke of Guienne, brother of Louis XI., and, on his refusal, to the king of Portugal, by whom the proposal was likewise rejected ; so little was there to be reckoned on the fortune of that princess. A civil war was kindled through the whole kingdom, and the names of Joanna and Isabella roused all the factious spirits to arms. At last the king was reconciled to his sister and Ferdinand. Having supped with them, he was seized, as he rose from table, with violent pains in his bowels, of which he died in great agonies the same year, 1474, after having again acknowledged Joanna his daughter and heiress. The queen likewise swore to her legitimacy ; but the people would give them no credit. Nor were the suspicions of poisoning, though universally spread, any obstacle to the fortune of Ferdinand and Isabella. Both were able politicians ; yet, in the eyes of true wisdom, their reign will not appear to merit all the encomiums lavished upon it by historians. We ought to distrust national prejudices, especially those formed in ignorant ages.

Ferdinand
discontented
in
Castile.

The beginning of their reign was tempestuous. Ferdinand, who enjoyed only the empty title of king, while the whole authority remained in the hands of the queen, was on the point of retiring into Arragon. But Isabella retained him by the arts of flattery, calling him her

master and lord, but still acting as mistress of the kingdom. The archbishop of Toledo, jealous of the confidence she reposed in the cardinal Mendoza, gave way to his resentment. *I shall find means, said he, to make Isabella again take up the distaff, which I have made her quit.* He retired, and formed cabals. Alphonso V., king of Portugal, having at last determined to marry the princess Joanna, daughter of Henry IV., she was proclaimed queen of Castile at Placentia. But after a war of some years continuance, Alphonso renounced the marriage and his pretensions in 1479, upon which Joanna entered into a monastery. The archbishop of Toledo had likewise been obliged, by the seizure of his temporalities, to bend his haughty spirit to the yoke of obedience.

A wise and vigorous government was necessary for repressing the public disorders, which were carried to the utmost extremity. The whole country swarmed with robbers. The nobility favoured or committed depredations ; and their castles might be looked upon as so many fortresses, possessed by enemies in the heart of the kingdom. In a word, all the abuses of the feudal government were maintained by violence and licentiousness. These it was resolved to destroy ; and an association was formed, under the name of the *Sancta Hermandad*, holy brotherhood, to check murders, thefts, and violences of every kind ; to which a revenue, with a certain number of troops, was assigned. This establishment, as well as others of the like nature, met with great opposition from the grandes, who made advantage of

Measures
for
repressing
public
disorders.

The
Sancta
Hermandad.

these crimes, as we have seen was the case in the rest of Europe.

Vigorous government. The principal aim of Ferdinand and Isabella was, to eradicate crimes by terror ; to raze the fortresses of the nobility who infested the country ; to revoke the grants which exhausted the treasury ; to free the people from the tyranny of the nobles, and subject them entirely to the royal authority. But in the midst of these useful cares, we find them everywhere establishing, with fiery zeal, those privileges of the Inquisition which are most opposite to the laws of humanity, and the beneficent rules of the Gospel.

Horrors of the Inquisition. Torquemada, a Dominican of a violent and cruel disposition, had obliged the queen to swear, before she was acknowledged, that, if she came to the crown, she would employ her utmost power for the extermination of impiety, of Jews, Mussulmen, heretics, and magicians. Cardinal Mendoza, inflamed by the Dominican, enforced the observation of this oath. The Inquisition was established with rigours juridically tyrannical, and a barbarity of which there had been hitherto no example. Torquemada, being promoted to the office of grand inquisitor, in four years caused six thousand persons to be burnt alive, and more than a hundred thousand felt the effects of his persecuting zeal. A gloomy terror, a frantic fanaticism, reigned in every family ; the infamous trade of information was changed into a virtue ; the least suspicions, slight imprudences, imaginary or supposititious faults, were sufficient grounds for persecuting, blackening, and driving to despair a number of innocent persons.

The fortunes, honour, and lives of individuals were disposed of by the most iniquitous procedures. The accused never was confronted with his accuser, nor even knew who he was. He was obliged to guess at his crime. Entangled in the snares of captious interrogatories, he often acknowledged himself guilty, without knowing of what. The testimony of the nearest relations, of women of infamous character, was admitted, as if the want of others had been dreaded. And though, by law, false accusers were to bear the punishment of retaliation ; though fictitious charges were necessarily multiplied by personal enmities and superstitious follies, there was no example of a calumniator being punished by the holy office. There was no resource against the sentence of that tribunal ; no appeal to the sovereign, the protector of his subjects.

Odious
procedures
of that
tribunal.

An infinite number of *familiars* were employed, who enjoyed great privileges ; and immense sums were expended to ensure the misery of Spain, rather than the triumph of the faith. Those dreadful executions, where piles of victims were sacrificed ; those *auto-da-fé* acts of faith, a bare recital of which makes human nature shudder, were made acts of religion, and spectacles at which even kings assisted with zeal. If, with several authors, we think that Spain and Portugal had reason to congratulate themselves on having, by such methods, banished Mahometism, Judaism, or heresy, it must then be necessary to degrade reason to a level with brutal instinct, and tyrannise over mankind. The world must be laid waste with fire and sword, to make Christians and Catho-

Its familiars.
Auto-da-fé.

lics ! Is it thus that the faith was established ? Happily for the people, and, I dare venture to say it, happily for religion, the Spanish government, which becomes daily more enlightened and humane, has greatly mitigated those rigours, which originated from the prejudices of the age. History will inform us what deep wounds it has given the state.

Arragon
and Sicily
devolve
on
Ferdinand. In 1479, Ferdinand found himself master of Arragon and Sicily, by the death of his father, John II.; and Phebus de Foix, king of Navarre, dying four years after, he demanded Catharine, sister and heiress of the deceased monarch, in marriage for his son; at the same time seizing Pampeluna, in order to give more strength to his negotiation. We shall afterwards see him master of that kingdom. The power of Ferdinand and Isabella was every moment increased by a crooked policy supported by arms.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONQUEST OF THE KINGDOM OF GRENADA. EX-
PULSION OF THE JEWS FROM SPAIN.

The kingdom of Grenada, which was all that remained of the Mahometan dominions in Spain, attracted the attention of ambitious princes, who seemed invited to seize it, by motives of zeal as well as interest. It is surprising that the Moors had not taken advantage of the disturbances in Castile, during the late reign, and that they had even submitted to pay a tribute. But their strength every day declined, from their mutual divisions; and their dissensions, which at last increased to madness, in the end brought about their total ruin, as has been the fate of so many famous empires. Albo-hacen, king of Grenada, was obliged to arm against one of his sons, and he was obliged to do the like against one of his uncles. The flame of civil war raged universally, when Ferdinand and Isabella turned their arms against that tottering state, which, from the favours bestowed on it by nature, ought to have been the centre of happiness.

After having demanded of Pope Sixtus IV. a bull for a crusade, and permission to levy a subsidy on the clergy, for these methods were still necessary to second the views of politics,

Ferdinand
and Isabella
attack
that
kingdom.

Ferdinand put himself at the head of his army, in 1483. He carried on the war with continued and rapid success, and Isabella accompanied him in several expeditions. Both of them were in danger of losing their lives at the siege of Malaga, an important town, which was defended with courage, and taken, in 1487. In 1489 they stormed Baza, which cost them twenty thousand men. Guadix and Almeria were delivered up by a Mussulman prince, a competitor for the crown, who was base and blind enough to endeavour, at that price, to turn their arms against his rival. At last, Isabella and Ferdinand laid siege to Grenada, in 1491. Their camp, which was two leagues distant from the city, being destroyed by a dreadful conflagration, in order to secure themselves from the like disaster, they caused a town, proof against fire, to be erected on the spot ; and that work was finished in three months. This town still subsists, under the name of *Santa-Fe*. The besiegers enjoyed plenty of every thing, while the besieged suffered all the severities of famine, and the place was reduced to the last extremity.

The
Moorish
king
capitulates. An enthusiastic Mussulman, by his eloquence, revived the drooping courage of the inhabitants ; and twenty thousand men, inflamed by his discourses, offered to follow wherever he led them, in defiance of every danger. Reason would seem to have urged taking advantage of their desperate resolution ; but, on the contrary, Abo-Abdeli, who had dethroned his father, Albohacen, dreading the consequences of this ferment, hastily capitulated. He obtained for himself some fortresses and lands in the Alpu-

jarras, a range of mountains remarkable for the fertility of their soil, and secured to the inhabitants their property, laws, and religion. After concluding the treaty, he set out, loaded with imprecations by the people ; and, casting a parting look on the beautiful capital which he abandoned, uttered a profound sigh. *You have reason*, said his mother, *to weep like a woman, when you could not defend such a fine city with the courage of a man.* Thus ended the empire of the Arabians in Spain, about eight hundred years after its foundation.

The greater was the importance and glory of this conquest, the greater must be our astonishment at that equally fatal and unjust policy, by which the Jews were immediately after expelled the kingdom. That people made amends, by their industry, for the hatred and contempt with which they were treated by the Christians. They found in their riches a compensation for their honour ; and, being the sole traders, to which they joined the lending of money at high interest, they had got almost the whole specie of the nation into their hands. The nobles, whose fortunes were ruined, intermarried with them, as well as with the Mahometans, but yet were no less their enemies ; and the popular rage was inflamed by absurd imputations, such as have always been alleged by religious hatred. The government suffered itself to be misled by a blind zeal, or a mistaken prospect of interest, and the Jews were ordered to leave the kingdom. Six months were allowed them for the disposal of their property ; but they were prohibited, under pain of death, from carrying with them silver, gold, and jewels ; that is, they

^{1492.}
Expulsion
of
the Jews.

were banished in order to strip them of their wealth.

The state
ruined
by this act
of
violence.

In consequence of this ordinance, Spain lost upwards of thirty thousand families, which, at the lowest computation, amount to one hundred and fifty thousand souls ; and with them fled industry, arts, and commerce. This act of injustice was attended with the same effects as the debasing of the coin, which ruins princes, while it procures them a momentary resource. The spoils of the Jews were looked upon as a great acquisition ; yet the nation sunk at once into wretched poverty. There was no fund to supply the high contributions which they had paid ; and they no longer could find necessaries which had been furnished by laborious hands. Was there no method, then, for checking the usury of the Jews, without depriving themselves of trade ? If they were resolved to commit an act of injustice, ought they not, at least, to have taken measures for preventing its ill effects ? But, being an act of injustice, it must, notwithstanding every precaution, have been productive of its necessary effect, of more mischief than good,—as has been the case with all the violences exercised under pretence of religion.

What
became
of
the Jews.

By the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, Portugal gained about fourscore thousand subjects. Fifteen thousand of them retired into Africa, where they met with more cruel treatment than in Spain. The Moors are said to have ripped open their bellies, in order to search their bowels for the gold which they had swallowed. Some thousands of them returned, and pretended to embrace Christianity. It was

principally on them that the Inquisition laid its bloody hands. That tribunal may be looked upon as a scourge, contrived by the enemies of Spain to depopulate the kingdom.

We may venture to join to these public calamities the discovery of the New World, which was made the same year that the Jews were expelled. But this I refer to the following epoch, where the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella will continue to offer memorable incidents to our consideration. We have here some observations to make, on a matter more interesting to the human mind.

CHAPTER IX.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

General revolution which began in the fifteenth century. IN the fifteenth century, every thing changed, or prepared for a change ; because mankind then awakened from a long lethargy, exercised their mental faculties, and new inventions opened a new field of speculation. We shall see, that the compass, which was accidentally discovered long before, and which, for many years, continued to be a mere matter of curiosity, because no attempt was made to apply it to any useful purpose, has alone been the cause of a most amazing revolution.

Change in the military art. The invention of gunpowder introduced a change into the military art ; and that change became necessarily more considerable, in proportion to the improvement made on this fatal discovery. The cavalry were no longer so formidable in armies, and consequently the knights were less distinguished in the state. The ancient chivalry likewise suffered greatly by the establishment of the orders of the Garter, the Golden Fleece, St Michael, &c. These decorations were more flattering to vanity, and attached the nobles more closely to the courts of princes, who used every method for recovering or increasing their authority.

Decay of chivalry.

The science of politics made visible progress, especially in France, after the study of jurisprudence grew into esteem. The civilians and parliaments, though still tinctured with erroneous opinions, had introduced the principles most favourable to monarchy. By their negotiations or struggles with the court of Rome, men had been accustomed to the management of intricate affairs. Perhaps they had imbibed from this source those refinements of subtlety, which were soon formed into a system. We see the powers of Europe turn their views to every quarter, forming leagues and alliances ; but we see perfidy introduced into the most important affairs. Louis XI. and Ferdinand the Catholic gloried in the successful practice of deceit. The infection became general. To dishonour the throne, and disgrace the altar, by the frauds of imposture, was made a matter of sport. Treaties and oaths, which of all things ought to be the most inviolable, were converted into snares, to entrap enemies, under the disguise of friendship ; without considering that this was the method to raise numberless enemies, and to make friends treacherous. Knavery may have momentary success ; but its consequences are always dangerous, as is proved by a thousand instances down to the present times.

Infamous crimes, assassinations, and poisonings, prevailed at this time more than ever. They were thought to be the growth of Italy, where the rage and weakness of the opposite factions made them very common. The Italian policy, which was undoubtedly infected with all the vices of the Lower Empire, spread

Politics
cultivated,
but with
pernicious
refinements.

Crimes
multiplied.

contagion through all the courts of Europe, both by precept and example. Morality gradually disappeared, and, with it, all security in the intercourses of life. The first principles of duty were obliterated by the joint influence of irreligion and superstition. Why did the passage from barbarism to the cultivation of genius, in several respects, only substitute, instead of brutal vices, others more refined and pernicious? The reason was, that men's minds were not guided by sound reason; that, while they were subtilized, they followed the bent of their passions; and, in the last place, because the public manners are formed by the courts, where all things are commonly made subservient to fortune.

Printing. Printing, which was invented at Strasburg in 1440, by John Guttemburg, and brought to perfection at Mentz by John Fust and Peter Schæffer, naturally served equally for a vehicle of truth and error. But, whatever abuse may have been made of it, we must reckon it among the most beneficial arts; for ignorance of itself multiplies errors, whereas truths must make their way through an infinite number of obstacles. If, even with the assistance of books, its progress be slow and uncertain, what would it be without so powerful an aid, amidst the darkness of ignorance? One of the principal abuses of printing has been its furnishing food for the fanaticism of sectaries; but fanaticism was too plentifully supplied with aliment before this art subsisted. On the other hand, by it alone the principles of reason and morality have been gradually communicated, which will at last put an end to the madness of

the sects. What an advantage to the cause of humanity!

A burgher of Haerlem, named Coster, had already printed, by engraving entire pages on wood, as was practised by the Chinese for many centuries. This method is, to the moveable cast types, nearly what hieroglyphics are to the letters of the alphabet. The invention of printing appeared so extraordinary, that the first who brought specimens of it to Paris were looked upon as magicians. At that time, every man was a magician who did any thing that surprised the vulgar. Even the parliament suffered itself to be prejudiced at first; every useful novelty appeared a monster in the eyes of prejudice.

This admirable invention was calumniated.

If the revival of learning must be attributed to any foreign cause, it should rather be to printing, than to the Greeks, who fled from Constantinople. Some learned men, who had taken refuge in other countries, and were loaded with favours, especially by Cosmo and Lorenzo Medici, taught the Greek language, or brought it into vogue. It is not to be questioned, that this was an acquisition advantageous to learning; but the career was open before; poetry and eloquence were cultivated; the models of ancient Rome, Terence, Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Titus Livius, Sallust and others, were studied; and would not these have been sufficient to communicate ideas of the truly beautiful? Could not these have formed the poets, orators, and historians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries?

The revival of learning falsely attributed to the Greeks.

I dare assert, that the learned languages were at first less a source of information, and a mo-

The study of the learned

languages made more pedants than men of taste. del for correcting taste, than a fund of grammatical erudition. The study of words drew off men's attention from things. The greatest part of the new literati were characterized by a stiff pedantry, incessantly employed in trifling minutiae, or heaping up ridiculous quotations. They compiled, they commented, they imitated, like laborious slaves ; but they did not think. They certainly smoothed the way for men of real genius to acquire the knowledge, of which they might stand in need ; but to imagine, with the people of that age, that the study of the ancients was the only thing requisite ; to adore even their faults, to take their judgments for oracles, to condemn every thing formed on a model different from theirs, and superstitiously to copy their language, was the way not to bring reason and taste to perfection, but to retard their progress.

The vulgar languages neglected. While the dead languages were studied, the living ought to have been cultivated. While Italy pursued this method, she produced excellent authors ; but when a contrary course was taken, she had only *Ciceronians* without ideas, or awkward compilers. The other nations were long inferior to her, while the spirit of pedantry prevented men of letters from writing in the national language, and thus enlightening the public, while they instructed themselves in the same school. Commines and Monstrelet, whose histories are still interesting, though written in an obsolete jargon, would have roused the emulation of the French writers, had it been seen, that the Greek and Latin, by furnishing models, might teach the

art of thinking more justly, and writing more elegantly, in the native language of the country.

The disputes of the schools, which always became matters of religion and affairs of state, are a melancholy proof of the slavery in which reason was long fettered. Aristotle, who had been condemned by a sentence of the church in the thirteenth century, was now restored by a sentence equally reasonable, and reigned over the doctors with uncontrolled dominion. A legate, who, about the middle of the fifteenth century, reformed the university of Paris, had made it a law to teach the doctrine of that philosopher. As he was known only by the commentaries of the Arabians, Averroes, in the name of Aristotle, dictated oracles in the Christian schools. Natural philosophy, ethics, and even theology, were in some sort subjected to his unintelligible ideas. All the sects endeavoured to support themselves by his authority, as by that of the holy scripture, and both were quoted as of equal weight; by which absurd mixture, religion was degraded, and philosophy converted into a monster.

Two absurd sects, the *Realists* and *Nominals*, the first of whom maintained *essences*, and other abstractions, to be real beings; and the last combated this chimerical notion by false subtleties, contended with the most inveterate rage; and, not content with the anathemas of the church, invoked the assistance of the secular arm. Louis XI. declared against the Nominals, and caused their books to be chained down; upon which the dispute, as is usual in such cases, became more furious. Those books escaped from their captivity, and the battle

Prejudices
of the
schools.
Authority
of
Aristotle.

Disputes
between the
Realists
and
Nominals.

was continued. Had not Descartes appeared, perhaps philosophers would still be disputing on the like impertinences.

Disputes between the Thomists and Scotists. At the same time, the world was disturbed by the obstinate quarrels between the Thomists and Scotists, or Dominicans and Franciscans. The first denied the immaculate conception of the Virgin ; the second wanted to erect it into a new article of faith. The first asserted, that the five wounds, which Jesus Christ received on the cross, were miraculously imprinted on the body of St Catharine of Sienna, a nun of their order ; the second affirmed, that this grace was bestowed only on St Francis, their founder. The one maintained, that while Christ was in the sepulchre, the divinity continued united with his blood ; the others asserted the contrary. They frequently accused each other of heresy ; both of them, to the utmost of their power, converting their peculiar opinion into an universal rule of faith, which is commonly the end aimed at in all theological systems.

Savonarola accused of heresy. Jerome Savonarola, an enthusiastic Dominican, and celebrated preacher at Florence, fell a victim to the rivalship between the orders. He had declaimed against Pope Alexander VI., whose vicious conduct struck universal horror ; and was accused of heterodoxy, when one of his brethren offered to justify him by the *ordeal* of fire. A Franciscan engaged to undergo the same trial, in order to prove him guilty. The proposal was accepted, and a day fixed for the ceremony ; but the Franciscan was intimidated, and retracted. Another took his place, and likewise drew back. At last, a lay brother of the same order entered the lists.

The magistrates and the people of Florence hastened in crowds to the sight, and the fires were lighted up ; but the Dominican very prudently bethought himself of refusing to enter them without the eucharist ; which was denied, either from reverence to the sacrament, or because it was opposed by the Franciscan ; and both retired without doing any thing.

Notwithstanding this, Savonarola was burnt in 1498, together with two other Dominicans. Execution
of
Savonarola. He was one of those men, half knaves half fanatics, who abuse the popular credulity, in order to establish their opinions and acquire power. Comines tells us, that he predicted the event of the battle at Fornuovo ; but makes no reflections on this pretended prophecy.

While theologians were placing themselves in a light which reflected disgrace on the human understanding, Picus Mirandola was ambitious of acquiring the reputation of an universal genius. In 1486, at the age of twenty-three, he maintained theses at Rome on all the sciences, theology, mathematics, natural philosophy, &c. without excepting the *cabala** and magic, which, as well as astrology, was then made a subject of the most serious study. He had principally formed himself on St Thomas and Aristotle, yet he did not escape censure. His theses were laid before Innocent III., who condemned thirteen propositions in them. Picus wrote a defence, and easily confounded his accusers. One of them inveighing against the *cabala*, of which he had not the least idea, being asked what it was, replied, It is well known

Picus
Mirandola.
His con:
demnation
at Rome.

* A kind of absurd and mysterious science among the Jews.

that *Cabala was a heretic, who blasphemed Jesus Christ, and whose followers bear the name of Cabalists.* This prince, the wonder of his age in point of knowledge, injured his health by intense application, and died at the age of thirty-three. He had obtained absolution from Alexander VI., and abdicated his principality, to addict himself entirely to works of piety.

The court of Rome not reformed. It is still a matter, not only of curiosity, but of indispensable necessity, to take a view of the Romish court, which, though its spiritual thunders had lost much of their terror, was equally ambitious, more political, in possession of a larger territory, and still disturbed the world by the help of religion and intrigue. All the great projects which had been formed for the reformation of the head and the members of the church, had evaporated in smoke. Though the decrees of Constance and Bâle had attacked the evil in its root, their execution must have been ineffectual, because not enforced by the potentates. What strength can laws have which are established in a temporary assembly, and unsupported by the supreme powers of legislation, when opposed to the torrent of the manners? Or what authority can put them in force?

Seljah conduct of the popes. Accordingly, history here represents the popes as always occupied with the care of their own interest, and paying very little regard to the good of the church. Calixtus III., successor of Nicholas, rose to the pontificate by intrigue. He incessantly preached up the war against the Turks, and on that pretence laid kingdoms under contribution, equipped gallies, and succeeded in no laudable attempt.

Pius II., who succeeded Calixtus, was an artful politician, of a haughty temper, who strove to cancel every thing which he himself had judged necessary in the council of Bâle, and who set an example of sacrificing truth to the interests of fortune. After him, Paul II. shamefully violated the oaths by which he had bound himself in the conclave, where the observation of several rules had been sworn, the greatest part of them advantageous to the cardinals ; but he silenced their murmurs by giving them red hats, and soothing their vanity with trifles. Sixtus IV. acted too conspicuous a part in the conspiracy of Florence. One of his principal cares was to accumulate money, under pretence of driving out the Turks, and to employ his riches in procuring settlements for his family. After his death, the Romans pillaged his palace. Innocent VIII., a man of infamous character, pursued exactly the same system ; and his successor, Alexander, exceeded all that had gone before him. We have already observed, that the conduct of the popes drew after it an endless train of consequences. Had they been virtuous, they might have prevented the greatest mischiefs, and been authors of the greatest good, as was the case with the ancient models of the pontificate ; but to what did they not expose the church by their vices, which disturbed and corrupted society ?

Meantime the minds of men were thrown into a state of fermentation. The new doctrines of Wickliffe and Huss had left a concealed leaven, which was increased by reading, by disputes, by the scandalous practices of the clergy, and

Ap:
proaching
evil.

the licentiousness of the times ; nor will it be long till we see that inflammable matter, collected under ground, pent up and in agitation, work itself a passage, and, by its dreadful explosion, cover the earth with flames and ruin.

NINTH EPOCH.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE NEW WORLD. LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY AGAINST VENICE. LEO X. AND LUTHER.

FROM THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY TILL THE YEAR MDEIX.

CHAPTER I.

PROGRESS OF NAVIGATION TILL THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

THE wonders which navigation at this period brought to light, the fountains of riches and knowledge which it opened, the new turn which it gave to the political system of Europe, deserve the first place in an historical epoch. This epoch announces new calamities to the human race, under an appearance of glory and happiness; but humanity rising to perfection with the progress of reason, there will perhaps come a time when the countries which have had reason to curse European tyranny will congratulate themselves on the ad-

Influence
of
navigation
on
the political
system.

vantages which at last will accrue to them from our knowledge, our laws, and our arts.

*First
navigators.* The first navigators were formed by industry, roused to action by necessity and interest. The Phenicians and Carthaginians extended their maritime commerce to distant countries, with no other assistance than the inspection of the stars, and an uncertain route. The ancient Danes, and above all the Norwegians, a piratical and intrepid people, plunged into barbarism, executed enterprises, the more astonishing, as they owed every thing to their courage. In 874, they penetrated into Iceland, and there established a considerable colony. In 982, they discovered Groenland, in which they likewise planted a colony.

*Pretended
that
they landed
in
America.* But what appears incredible, and yet given by M. Mallet as a fact sufficiently authenticated, is, that soon after they landed on the continent of America, to which they gave the name of Vinland, and there founded a new colony, which is frequently mentioned in the Icelandic chronicles so late as the year 1121. ‘From that time,’ says M. Mallet, ‘Vinland seems by degrees to have been forgotten in the North; and that part of Groenland which had embraced Christianity being lost, Iceland also fallen from its former state, and the northern nations being wasted by a pestilence, and weakened by internal feuds, all remembrance of that discovery was at length utterly obliterated; and the Norwegian Vinlanders, ceasing to have any correspondence with Europe, degenerated, from causes more easy to be imagined than advanced with certainty.’ It is

conjectured, that the isle of Newfoundland is the Vinland of the Norwegians, and that the Esquimaux are the descendants of their colony; in fact, that people are distinguished from the other American savages by white skins, a beard, commonly fair hair, and an advantageous stature.* I know what doubts such traditions and conjectures may leave; but they are at least more interesting than the fables of our ancient chronicle makers.

In the fifteenth century, before the discoveries of the illustrious Christopher Columbus, the existence of the antipodes was still looked upon as chimerical. Superstition, the companion and support of ignorance, strengthened this error by making it a point of theology. How could men, separated from us by the depths of the ocean, have the same original with us, descend from Adam, and share in the benefit of redemption? Thus did theologians reason for some ages. The false philosophers, that is, almost all who attempted to argue, had not juster notions. The globular figure of the earth, with which the ancients were acquainted, seemed an opinion shocking to reason. Should beings, placed in another hemisphere opposite to ours, walk with their heads downwards. What an absurdity! was the universal cry. Thus was a thing, true in fact, reckoned among the number of absurd errors, and even of impieties. An important lesson, both to presumptuous judges, who decide arrogantly without knowledge, and pusillanimous minds, which creep in the fetters of prejudice, without

Absurd idea
of the
antipodes
till
the fifteenth
century.

* See Mallet's Northern Antiquities.

even conjecturing that reason has any right to set herself free.

Invention of the compass. Had not the compass been invented, perhaps the illusion would have been invincible. A needle, directing the course through the seas, and pointing out the pole more exactly than even the polar star ; when navigators were possessed of this sure guide, they became capable of undertaking any thing. It was in use in the fourteenth century. The Canary Islands had been before discovered by the Spaniards. This was a new incitement to their hopes and to their courage.

Don Henry rouses a spirit for navigation in Portugal. The infant Don Henry, son of John II., king of Portugal, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, excited, by his genius, a thirst for navigation. The Portuguese turned their attention to the western coasts of Africa, and doubled cape *Non*, which was looked upon as an insurmountable barrier. In 1420, they discovered the island of Madeira, where they planted sugar-canæs, a production of the Indies which had been brought by the Arabians into Sicily and the Isle of Cyprus, and was afterwards transplanted into America.

Obtains from Martin V. a right to make conquests. This infant of Portugal thought it necessary to address himself to Rome, in order more to animate a superstitious nation. Martin V. seconded his views, as if the universe had been at his disposal. He granted to the Portuguese whatever they could conquer from Cape Bojador to the farthest parts of the East Indies, with plenary indulgences for all who lost their lives in these expeditions. Such bulls greatly promoted the success of the scheme ; for the boldness of the conquerors would necessarily

have been gradually weakened by fatigues and dangers, had not their avidity been whetted by a kind of fanaticism.

After the death of Henry, which happened in 1461, the Portuguese still pushed on their enterprises. They at last passed the equator, gave to the stormy cape the name of *Good Hope*; and then, in fact, they might form great hopes from those discoveries, which had hitherto been more astonishing than useful.

The
Cape
of Good
Hope
discovered.

CHPTER II.

VOYAGES OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO THE NEW WORLD.

*Projects
of
Christopher
Columbus.*

A SUPERIOR genius already turned his views towards the other hemisphere. Christopher Columbus, a Genoese settled at Lisbon, struck with the success of so many bold navigators, and giving scope to his ideas, reflecting on the figure of the earth, with the help of a map incorrectly constructed, grew into a persuasion, that the Atlantic ocean comprehended unknown countries, or that a passage to the East Indies and China might be found by the West. This last conjecture, although false, was the original of the most important discovery ever made by men. But had not Columbus been endowed with heroic courage, his vast ideas would have been disregarded as chimerical.

*Treated like
a
visionary
at
Genoa.*

Like a good citizen, he first proposed the attempt to his countrymen, as a means of depriving the Venetians of the rich commerce which they carried on with the Indies by the way of Egypt and the Red Sea. But the Genoese looked upon him only as a visionary ; nor was he better treated by the courts of France, England, and Portugal, to which he successively addressed himself. This great

man, inflamed with that enthusiasm which is inspired by great enterprises, and carries them into execution, still persevered. He submitted to the railleries and insults which he met with ; solicited Ferdinand and Isabella in Spain ; bore their refusals for eight years ; and, in order to obtain permission to go in quest of new kingdoms for them, was obliged to set in motion the springs of zeal and religion. A cordelier and two other churchmen, struck with his discourses, determined Isabella to an enterprise calculated for propagating the Christian faith. Being unable to find money, she sold her jewels ; a sum was advanced by a private person ; and at last Columbus found himself at the head of a little squadron of three small vessels, with the title of admiral.

He embarked, with transports of joy, on the third day of August, 1492 ; and after only thirty-three days sail, during which he was every moment exposed to the murmurs and mutiny of his crew, he discovered one of the Lucayan islands. This discovery was followed by that of the others, as well as Cuba and Hispaniola, or St Domingo. At the end of about nine months, he returned with a quantity of gold and some Americans. Prejudice was confounded. Ferdinand and Isabella loaded with honours the person who, before his success, had been treated as a madman. He ate at their table, sat down and was covered in their presence as a grandee of Spain. They appointed him admiral of the West Indies, and intrusted him with eighteen vessels for a second voyage, from which the greatest ad-

1492.
First voyage
of
Christopher
Columbus
to
America.

vantages were expected, and Columbus again put to sea in September 1493.

Colony
of
Hispaniola,
or
St Domingo.

The method to reap advantage from the discoveries was by the establishment of colonies ; for which purpose he chose the Isle of St Domingo. Every thing was an object of terror to the savages. Men on horseback, with fire-arms, appeared to them dreadful gods armed with thunder. What ideas must they entertain of those large vessels which vomited flames and thunder-bolts, and resembled volcanoes moveable at pleasure ? However, Columbus prudently treated them with kindness, and found less disturbance from them than from the Spaniards, who flattered themselves with accumulating gold and silver without the least trouble. The fatigue attendant on the establishment of the colony, and the exact discipline which was observed ; in short, every thing contributed to stir them up against the admiral, whose patience and prudence were put to the severest trials. He had just discovered Jamaica, and on his return found the colony had mutinied, and the Americans in arms for its destruction. While he was employed in reconciling the one, and dissipating the other, his enemies calumniated him in Spain. A superintendent was sent to hamper and thwart him. He found it necessary to return to Europe, where he exonerated himself without difficulty, but could not obtain supplies for a third voyage, till after long solicitations and a thousand affected delays.

He
discovers
the

Columbus again put to sea in the year 1498, and arrived on the continent of America. He for some time sailed up the Oronooko ; but,

yielding to the apprehensions of the crew, abandoned his discovery, and returned to St Domingo, after having trafficked on the coasts with different savages, less from motives of interest, than with a view to get acquainted with the country and the inhabitants, whose simplicity was such, that they with pleasure exchanged their pearls and gold-dust for bits of glass or small toys of tin.

continent
of
America.

On his arrival at St Domingo, he was again blackened by ingratitude and envy. His enemies triumphed at court during his absence; a governor was sent to succeed him, and this officer was not ashamed to put him in irons, and send him like a criminal to Spain. The injustice of this act was too flagrant, and was attended with the same consequences as before. Columbus was put at the head of a fleet, and in 1502 made a fourth voyage, when he again met with persecution and ingratitude, notwithstanding which, he discovered the isthmus of Darien; but having been overtaken by a violent storm, he put into Jamaica.

Meets
with fresh
instances
of
injustice.

There it was, that, being destitute of provisions, and surrounded by mutineers, he saved himself by that effort of genius which has been so much celebrated. Knowing that an eclipse of the moon was approaching, he threatened the savages with the most dreadful vengeance if they refused him provisions; and, as a proof of what they had to dread, declared, that the moon would be darkened at such an hour. As soon as the eclipse began, the Americans flocked to him in a panic, and thought themselves happy to soften him by furnishing the supplies which he required.

Advantage
which
he took of
an
eclipse.

**Unhappy
end
of this
great man.** When Columbus returned into Spain, his protectress Isabella was dead. Ferdinand gave him fair words, but nothing else, and he died in 1506, weighed down with grief and infirmities. He is admired for the constancy with which he served an ungrateful court, that had given him so many reasons of disgust. We ought likewise to admire his humanity towards the savages, whom he almost always prudently treated with gentleness.

**Acts
of barbarity
against
the
savages.** After him, a sanguinary barbarity was let loose against these unhappy people, who were entirely exterminated from St Domingo and Cuba, and even hunted with dogs. Is it surprising, that a cacique, or chief of the savages, replied to the missionaries, who exhorted him to gain paradise by suffering with patience, *I desire not to enter your paradise, if there are Spaniards in it!* But let us remark in general, that the colonies commonly consisted of the most worthless part of the nation, of wretches entirely destitute of principles and virtue, who breathed only murder and robbery. Almost all the European colonies have had the same origin. The crimes of Europe, therefore, if I may use the expression, were discharged into all those countries, where the bold spirit of adventure went in quest of riches.

**Amerigo
Vespucci
claims the
discovery of
the New
World.** The fame of the voyages made by Columbus, roused the emulation, or rather the avidity, of multitudes of adventurers. Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine, commanded one of their vessels, and claimed the honour of having discovered the New World in 1498, five years after the first voyage of Columbus. Though the latter had not discovered the continent, ought

not his glory to have eclipsed those who only followed his route? Yet America bears the name of the Florentine, whose title to immortality is very ill founded. So much is even reputation subject to the caprice of fortune! But they who can form a just estimate of merit, are not imposed upon by words.

It has been asserted by some Englishmen, that, in the twelfth century, a Welsh prince, named Madoc, first penetrated into the New World, where he died; but this fact, which is far from being so well authenticated as that of the Norwegians, bears too great a resemblance to the fables invented by national pride.

Ferdinand and Isabella had not omitted to solicit, at Rome, the right of conquering the countries already discovered, or to be discovered, which they obtained without difficulty; as the popes, by granting what did not belong to them, made conquests for themselves. But John II., king of Portugal, insisted upon sharing with the Spaniards in this rich prize; and the fleet which he equipped for that purpose gave occasion to a dispute. Alexander VI. judged between the two crowns, and settled their boundaries, in 1493, by the line of *marcation*, which was drawn a hundred leagues to the west of Madeira, the Azores, and Cape Verd. The following year it was found necessary to draw another, which passed through the Canaries, and was called the line of *demarcation*. Thus was the unknown world divided between Spain and Portugal; the West was given to the one, and the East to the other; for men had no notion, that what was the east on one side of the globe, was the west on the other. Every

Pretensions
of some
English to
this
discovery.

The
Spaniards
and
Portuguese
dispute
their rights
of
conquest.

Decided
by
Alexander
VI.

one must see, that such regulations could not be permanent. However, they seemed to realize the claim of universal dominion made by the popes,

CHAPTER III.

CONQUESTS OF THE PORTUGUESE IN ASIA. MEXICO AND PERU SUBDUED BY THE SPANIARDS.

If the discoveries of the Portuguese whetted the genius of Christopher Columbus, that nation was equally excited by those of Columbus to attempt new enterprises. Example and success have always been the great incitements of the human mind. In 1497, Emanuel I., king of Portugal, filled with the same grand ideas as his ancestors, sent Vasquez Gama to the Indies, with a crew of 160 men, including soldiers as well as seamen. It may be asked, why did he send so small a number? The reason is, that fear yet balanced or exceeded hope. Gama surmounted all the dangers of the ocean, made the tour of Africa, landed in Mozambique and Calicut in the East Indies, and, two years after, returned to give an account of his discoveries; which, as well as the navigation to America, entirely changed the face of Europe, by the treasures with which they furnished the masters of the sea. This new route soon attracted immense numbers of Portuguese, and their generals, particularly Alphonso Albuquerque, carried terror to the remotest parts of the East. Goa, Malacca, Ormus, the isle of Ceylon, abounding in cinnamon and precious

The
Portuguese
arrive in
the
East Indies
by
the ocean.

Their
conquests in
Asia.

stones, and the Molucca islands, which produced cloves, were, for the most part, conquered by them. They built Macao in China, and penetrated into Japan, and established an immense trade on the ruins of the Venetian ; these nations being able to sell at so low a rate the India goods which they brought from Alexandria.

*Barbarity
and
superstition
displayed
in
these vast
enterprises.*

All these enterprises, at first view, fill us with admiration. But if we reflect, that they increased the thirst of gold to such a height, as to make even the true blessings of society and nature be forgotten ; that they caused torrent of blood to be shed, even in the name of Jesus Christ ; that inhuman adventurers, with the crucifix in their hands, massacred millions of their own species, under pretence of establishing Christianity, which they themselves dishonoured ; that an insensate superstition contributed equally with insatiable avarice to fill them with ferocious cruelty ; we shall on one side view, with admiration, the wonders performed by industry and courage, while, on the other, we deplore the horrible excesses which were committed. The missionaries have intermixed a number of miracles with their accounts of those conquests ; and it is easy to see in these enterprises the spirit of the crusades, with the sanguinary manners and odious prejudices which have been so long fatal to the human race.

*The
Americans
were
savage,
except
in
Mexico and
Peru.*

To collect, in one view, similar objects, which besides have no relation to the general system of Europe, let us anticipate a little on the order of time, and follow the Spaniards into Mexico and Peru. The rest of America was peopled by savages, who, more or less, resembled brutes.

Here we see two great empires, where the arts were cultivated, and riches produced a sort of magnificence. We behold them conquered by a handful of adventurers, and the Spanish monarchy at once making an immense acquisition of power, while the other sovereigns did not exert the least effort on that account. Perhaps this is the most remarkable scene ever presented by fortune.

The empire of Mexico, like those in the Old World, had been formed by conquests. The little antiquity ascribed to it seems to prove that society had made rapid progress. But, are the first authors who gave an account of Mexico and Peru to be relied upon? How did they find memoirs in a country where writing was unknown? They were bad critics; they exaggerated their narrations from a principle of vanity, and that inclination, to which men are naturally too prone, of telling falsehoods, when they describe unknown countries; so that now we can scarcely give credit to some of the facts which they affirm to have been recent, or mention as things that must have been at that time universally known. According to them, Mexico, the capital of the empire of that name, contained about sixty thousand families, and had establishments and works worthy of a polished nation, markets, courts of justice, schools for youth, houses of stone, temples, and columns shining with gold, magazines filled with offensive and defensive weapons, gardens of medicinal plants, &c. The Mexican year consisted of three hundred and sixty-five days; they must therefore have made considerable progress in astronomy.

*Empire
of
Mexico.*

Hernando
Cortez
penetrates
into it.

In the reign of Charles V., Velasquez, governor of Cuba, formed a scheme for seizing some part of that vast continent, and trusted the execution to Hernando Cortez; a man of resolution and abilities, capable of performing great actions with slender means, who embarked, in 1519, with no more than five hundred foot, and about sixty horse, penetrated into the Gulf of Mexico, where he built the city of Vera Cruz ; after which he forced the republic of Tlascala to grant him some succours, and boldly advanced to the capital of the empire. Terror still marched before the Spaniards. Their ships, their horses, their artillery, their iron armour, were to the Americans such objects of novelty and dread, that, though they had not been ignorant savages, they must naturally have concluded this species of men to be endowed with something far exceeding human strength.

He
forces
Montezuma
to
submit.

Montezuma, eleventh emperor of Mexico, found himself obliged to give these dangerous guests an honourable reception, whom he could not get rid of by his offers or artifices. He loaded them with caresses ; but their general soon learning that an attack had been made on a party of the Spaniards, some of whom had been wounded, and even slain, had the boldness to imprison the emperor in the middle of his capital, and obliged him to acknowledge himself the vassal of Charles V., king of Spain, exacting from him immense treasures, by way of tribute, and ruling that vast monarchy with absolute dominion.

Fruitless
attempt to
deprive

Meantime Velasquez, who had quarrelled with Cortez, after his departure sent a small

army under Narvaez to deprive him of the command ; but, far from being intimidated by the danger, he left fourscore men in Mexico, and marched with the rest of his troops against his enemy Narvaez, whom he surprised and made prisoner ; upon which he was joined by the troops that were to have punished him as a rebel.

him
of the
command.

In his absence, the Spaniards had massacred several Mexicans of high rank, in a temple, under pretence of a conspiracy ; which act of barbarity had stirred up a general insurrection, when Cortez arrived, and attacked the Mexicans, whom he could not dissipate, though he made a dreadful slaughter of them. As the slightest loss was to him considerable, he obliged Montezuma to show himself, and order his subjects to submit,

The
Mexicans
revolt.

This unhappy prince, though before idolised, was now looked upon by the multitude only as a slave. They uttered the most insulting reproaches, and a stone was thrown at him, by the stroke of which he died in a few days, without suffering his wound to be dressed.

Death
of
Montezuma.
1520.

The empire being elective, Guatimozin, son-in-law of Montezuma, was chosen in his room. The new monarch attempted to drive out the Spaniards ; with which view he laid siege to Mexico, and broke the causeways that joined the city to the continent, it being situated in the middle of a lake. Cortez being in want of provisions, made good his retreat by favour of the night, surmounting every kind of obstacle and danger, and converting the carcases of the Mexicans into bridges. More than two hundred Spaniards lost their lives in a battle

Cortes
besieged in
Mexico.

fought during the night. Never had they met with such a disaster in America.

He subdues the empire. Had not Cortez found so many resources in his genius and courage, or had the superiority of the Europeans been less amazing, Mexico would not have been subjected to a foreign yoke. But the general soon made his appearance again before the capital, to which he laid siege with an army of more than two hundred thousand Americans. Guatimozin, equally prudent and brave, was desirous of coming to an accommodation ; but the priests opposed it in the name of their gods, promising victory to those who should defend the ancient worship. However, this spirit of fanaticism could not resist the Spanish cannon. Notwithstanding the heroic efforts and stratagems of the emperor, Mexico was taken in 1521, and the whole empire subdued, which at present makes the country of New Spain, comprehending a territory of more than two hundred leagues from north to south,

The emperor Guatimozin put to the torture. Guatimozin was made prisoner, and treated with humanity by Cortez. But some rapacious villains, without the knowledge of the general, laid that prince over a heap of burning coals to make him confess where he had concealed his treasures. A Mexican, who suffered with him, uttering loud cries, *Am I*, said the emperor to him, *on a bed of roses?* Cortez came up and freed him from this dreadful torture ; but, three years after, caused him to be hanged on pretence of a conspiracy.

Cortez ill rewarded. The conqueror of Mexico met with mortifications as well as Columbus. Hatred and envy followed him close. Charles V. deprived him

of his government, and gave him a marquisate in Spain, but in other respects treated him with neglect. If we believe the celebrated Las Casas, a Dominican bishop of Chiapa, Cortez had destroyed four millions of Americans in Mexico. It is too sure that the Spaniards every where shed rivers of blood. The human sacrifices, which they reproached that people with offering, could the less justify their barbarities, as they always boasted of fighting for the most beneficent of all religions. However, Las Casas has exaggerated.

Another empire, where gold and silver were used for the same purposes as iron is in Europe, gave a sudden increase to the Spanish monarchy. A company of adventurers easily made a conquest of it for a king who entertained no such thoughts. Pizarro, Almagro, and a priest named Luquez, having heard some reports of Peru, formed a design to make themselves masters of it. Their union was cemented by oaths and religious ceremonies, till it should be broken by jealousy, which very soon happened. After some fruitless attempts, the murdering arts of Europe produced their usual effect.

The empire of Peru was subject to masters, who bore the title of Incas ; the first of whom passed for a child of the sun, and his power had been established by superstition as well as arms. Atabalipa, the twelfth emperor of that race, which was adored as divine, then possessed the crown by usurpation from his brother ; and this quarrel had filled the country with discord. It is said, that their father had caused a high-road to be constructed, across moun-

Three
adventurers
undertake
the
conquest of
Peru.

The Incas
and
their works.

tains and precipices, from Cusco to Quito, a space of about five hundred leagues. At the end of every half league were stationed messengers, always ready to convey the orders of the prince. Incredible wonders are likewise told of the population of Peru, and the number and magnificence of the cities and palaces. Under the pen of Garcilaso de la Vega, every thing becomes marvellous ; but no vestiges of so many superb works are now to be found.

Manners
of the
Peruvians.

The manners of the Peruvians are said to have been gentle, pure, and simple. In their worship, they had a barbarous custom of murdering children, in order to sprinkle with their blood a kind of holy bread which was distributed in their temples ; but superstition in some respects always runs counter to manners. The Incas were absolute monarchs, and yet showed themselves the fathers of the people, which is another species of contradiction.

Particulars
of this
conquest.

When the Spaniards penetrated into this country in 1531, being favoured by the brother of the Inca, they, according to custom, sent ambassadors to offer their friendship and preach their religion. Atabalipa gave them a favourable reception, and went to meet Pizarro ; when a monk preached to him a sermon on the mysteries of Christianity, threatening him with hell and the plagues of Egypt, if he hardened his heart against the influence of grace. While an interpreter was well or ill explaining the sentiments of each party, some soldiers attempted to pillage a temple ; they were resisted, and an action ensued, which ended in a massacre of the Peruvians, and the captivity of their emperor. He offered for his

ransom as much gold as could be contained in one of the halls of his palace, as high as he could reach; and immediately gave orders for putting his promise into execution.* But the Peruvians not being able to satisfy the avidity of the conquerors, Atabalipa was in a short time condemned to the flames, as guilty of idolatry, concubinage, and a conspiracy. The monk who had first preached to him prevailed on him to receive baptism; after the administration of which, he was strangled and thrown into the flames.

Pizarro and Almagro becoming irreconcileable enemies, the former caused the latter to be beheaded, and was murdered in revenge. A son of Almagro and a brother of Pizarro attempting to make themselves sovereigns of Peru, both perished by a violent death. Thus did the oppressors of America, by their ambition, avarice, and villany, expiate the calamities they had brought upon the unhappy natives.

The shameful and tormenting disease which they brought from that country after their first voyage, was already a severe scourge to Europe. Perhaps the treasures of the New World are become still more fatal. What rivers of blood have they not cost! what ravages have they not produced! Can all that Europe has lost, in order to complete the devastation of America, be compensated with sugar, coffee, cacao, cochineal, or quinquina? This

The
conquerors
ire:
concileable
enemies.

Shameful
disease and
other
calamities
brought
upon us by
the
discovery
of
America.

* The fifth part of the Inca's ransom alone amounted to 13,265,000 pounds of gold, without reckoning the silver. Every trooper had 240 marks of gold. With what eagerness must people have flocked to America!

conquest is the cause of the dreadful slavery of the negroes, who, in that country, are obliged to drudge like the vilest animals; and to it in part are to be attributed our wars.

Discoveries at different times. I do not enter into a particular detail of the discoveries. In 1500, the Portuguese discovered Brazil. In 1519, Magellan, a Portuguese in the service of Spain, discovered the strait which bears his name. In 1535, Almagro, the rival of Pizarro, landed in Chili, and conquered that country.

CHAPTER IV.

MANNERS OF THE AMERICAN SAVAGES,

THE manners of the Americans are a very interesting object ; but the limits of this work prevent us from taking a particular view of them. We must therefore content ourselves with a few observations.

Except Peru and Mexico, where despotism had been established by force, and the arts doubtless had a particular influence on the manners, the Americans in general exhibit a picture of the primitive state of societies before agriculture had given birth to civil laws. Hardened to fatigue, the injuries of the air, naked, in want of every thing, they passed one part of the year in hunting, and the other in profound indolence. They had no laws, but were governed by customs. The affairs of a tribe were decided by the assemblies of the old men. These tribes commonly had a chief ; but his authority reached no farther than persuasion. There was no coercive power, no punishment established for crimes. A criminal was given up to the vengeance of the public. He was killed as an enemy, not punished as a member of the society. In a word, bound-

Government
of the
savages.

less liberty constituted, and still constitutes, the ruling passion of those savages. The Iroquois preserve the same species of government, which, being derived from nature, was almost universal among the uncivilized tribes.

Their manners. Grave, serious, hospitable, warm friends and implacable enemies, they show no ferocity but in their revenge and their wars. Their prisoners are treated in the most barbarous manner ; and the constancy with which they defy and support the extremity of torture, seems the utmost effort of human nature. In this we distinguish the character of the ancient Celts ; but, in other respects, the savages are far from equaling their courage. To surprise the enemy by stratagem is their method of making war.

Marriages and education. Though polygamy be not uncommon among them, they ordinarily content themselves with one wife. Before marriage, the women are extremely licentious ; after it, they become remarkable for their chastity. This is doubtless, in some measure, the effect of dread ; for the husband has a right to punish infidelity in his wife. Several causes contribute to make marriages not very fruitful ; the excessive humidity of the country ; the difficulty of procuring subsistence, a life of extreme hardship, and the custom of the unmarried women to get rid of their pregnancy by abortion. The end aimed at in the education of children is to make them, in a manner, insensible of pain, and even of blows and insults ; but they are never beaten by way of correction, and are left to the enjoyment of entire liberty, because it

is esteemed the most precious of all blessings.
Yet the married women are almost slaves.

There are few savages but have some confused notions of a supreme being, though they pay him no worship. However, they observe a number of superstitious practices, even in their methods of curing diseases. Spirits, dreams, omens, divination, and magic, employ much of their attention. What civilized nation has not given into these follies, which seem to be the fruit of the first reflections made by man in a state of ignorance, and so much the more timid and credulous, as every thing raises his surprise, while he is unacquainted with its cause?

One of the wonders of America is, that human industry exerted itself in Mexico and Peru, without those helps which it is almost impossible to supply. The art of writing was unknown in them. Atabalipa was excessively surprised at seeing the Spaniards read and write, and for some time doubted whether it was not a peculiar gift of nature. These people painted what they wanted to make known at a distance. The Peruvian *quipos*, by different combinations of knots, formed a kind of hieroglyphics for the communication of thoughts, and preserving the memory of events. The use of iron was not discovered. What appearance of probability is there, that the Americans, without iron, without writing, should have risen to such a pitch of industry and knowledge, as is supposed in narrations evidently of doubtful authority? If the greatest part of our travellers have forged numberless false-

Religious
notions.

The
industry
natural to
men
displayed in
Mexico and
Peru.

hoods, is much credit to be given to the Spaniards of those times ?

The savages more remarkable. Whatever be in this, the savages deserve to be studied more than the other Americans. We think them miserable, yet none of them could ever be accustomed to our method of living ; they prefer their forests and their liberty. We think them stupid, notwithstanding they have been seen, especially in North America, giving frequent proofs of wisdom and greatness of soul ; haranguing with the energy of Spartans ; forming confederacies, after the manner of the ancient Greeks, and pursuing a regular plan of politics. They elect a chief, in cases of necessity ; and their old men form a kind of senate, to which they join national assemblies for the common interest. This is a picture of men.

CHAPTER V.

LOUIS XII. AND FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC, TO THE
LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY. ALEXANDER VI.

LET US resume the history of Europe with the reign of Louis XII., formerly duke of Orleans, a monarch idolized by the French, because he loved and eased them from taxes ; but who, by his imprudent enterprises, and even sometimes by his injudicious economy, exposed the state to great misfortunes. As soon as he ascended the throne, he applied himself to the promotion of the public good, and forgot his personal resentments. Every body admires that noble expression which he made use of when he pardoned his enemies : *The king of France does not revenge the injuries done to the duke of Orleans.*

1498.
Louis XII.
ascends the
throne.

Charles VIII. having left no posterity, the reunion of Bretagne to the crown was dissolved, and the former passion entertained by Louis for the Queen Anne, who was heiress of that province, added weight to the political reasons which made him desirous of marrying her. Joan, daughter of Louis XI., a virtuous princess, but extremely ugly, had been his wife for twenty years. Reasons for a divorce were not wanting ; the marriage was forced and

barren ; and the only thing required to break it was the sentence of the pope, which Alexander VI. would make no difficulty of passing, provided he could find his account in compliance. His principal passion was to make the fortune of his son, the Cardinal Cæsar Borgia. After the ordinary proceedings, the sentence of divorce was pronounced by three commissioners delegated by the pope ; and Borgia, who brought the bull, was made Duke de Valentinois, with a considerable pension. This cardinal, who was equally vicious with his father, voluntarily changed his habit.

1499.
Conquest of
the
Milanese
from
Lodovico
Sforza.

Unluckily, one of the great objects aimed at by Louis XII. was to pursue the enterprises of his predecessor in Italy, to which he was induced by the thirst of conquest, and his first success hurried him into misfortune. In right of Valentina Visconti, his grandmother, he had some pretensions to the Milanese, of which Lodovico Sforza had usurped the possession. The duke being destitute of foreign assistance, could not withstand the valour of the French, though he was at the head of an army equally numerous. The states of Milan and Genoa were conquered in twenty days ; but in so short a time as next year, the duke had recovered his dominions. However, a new army of French having passed the Alps, Sforza was betrayed by the Swiss, who were in his pay ; and, falling into the hands of the enemy, was led prisoner into France, where he died some years after. This is one of those conquests which may be looked upon as a source of calamities.

Louis immediately turned his views upon the kingdom of Naples, the conquest of which he offered to share with Ferdinand the Catholic; nor did that monarch hesitate to accept it, though Frederic of Arragon, king of Naples, a prince of his own blood, was to be the victim of their treaty. Alexander VI. entered into their views, in order to turn them to his own advantage; and Gonsalvo de Cordova, surnamed the Great Captain, a man as crafty as his master, with whom it was a maxim, that *the robe of honour ought to be coarsely woven*, arrived under pretence of defending the king of Naples; but immediately joined the French, in order to ruin him. Frederic was obliged to request an asylum from Louis XII., and retired to France, where he subsisted on a pension.

As soon as the conquest came to be shared, disputes and quarrels arose. The Great Captain, a worthy instrument of the Catholic king, after having deceived the French, gained two victories over them in 1503. That of Cerignuola cost the life of the duke de Nemours, last prince of the Armagnac family, the founder of which was Caribert, son of Clotaire II. Thus did craft triumph, when valour was not accompanied with prudence, and Naples remained in the sole possession of the Spaniards.

At this time died Alexander VI., a man stained with the most infamous and odious crimes. Caesar Borgia, his bastard, had, by treachery or murder, seized for himself some fiefs in Romania, which were possessed by different lords. The sale of indulgences, and other abuses of the pontifical authority, had furnished him with the means of satisfying his

1501.
League with
Ferdinand
for the
conquest of
Naples.

Gonsalvo de
Cordova.

Remains in
the hands
of the
Spaniards.

Death of
Alexander
VI.

ambition. What were its fruits? An ambitious and warlike pope, Julius II., stripped the son of Alexander VI.; Borgia's conquests augmented the dominions of the church. The hero of Machiavel lost what he possessed in France; was sent prisoner into Spain by Gonzalo de Cordova; took refuge with the king of Navarre, his brother-in-law, and lost his life in a war kindled by his intrigues. The fall of men distinguished for their villany, is a lesson which ought to be frequently inculcated by history.

The
Cardinal
d'Amboise
desirous to
be pope.
1503.

The imprudent conduct of kings and ministers is another, from whence governments may draw much useful instruction. In France, the only thing thought of was the recovery of the kingdom of Naples. A strong army was sent into Italy, and had they been as quick in their operations as formerly, the success seemed infallible. But the Cardinal d'Amboise, who had the sole management of affairs under Louis XII., being desirous of the tiara, which had been left vacant by the death of Alexander VI., made the troops halt before Rome, in order to influence the votes of the conclave. The Italians, however, more artful than he, deceived him with fair words, and persuaded him to withdraw the forces, that his election might appear to be free; when, as soon as they got rid of their apprehensions, they elected an Italian, Pius III., who was soon succeeded by the famous Julius II., Julian de la Rovere. D'Amboise had lost the pontificate, and the season for the campaign. The army was prevented from action by the rains, and Gonzalo de Cordova again drove out the French.

Another unaccountable error was the conclusion of the treaty of Blois in 1504, by which Louis promised his daughter in marriage to Charles of Austria, grandson of the emperor Maximilian, and Ferdinand the Catholic, with Bretagne, Burgundy, the Milanese, and Genoa, in case he died without issue male. The court immediately repented of this disgraceful procedure, and the states of the kingdom remonstrated in strong terms, that it was illegal; upon which Louis II. gave his daughter to the Count d'Angoulême, his presumptive heir, who afterwards wore the crown, under the name of Francis I., and was likewise guilty of great faults.

Treaty of
Blois.

We have seen the face of Spain entirely changed by the marriage of Isabella, queen of Castile, with the king of Arragon. This princess, who was incessantly on her guard against the ambition of Ferdinand her husband, was governed by her confessor Ximenes, an illustrious cordelier, afterwards archbishop of Toledo, and cardinal. A short time before, she had given the Moors their choice, either to receive baptism, or quit the kingdom. The expulsion of the Jews, that of the Moors, and the continual emigrations to America, depopulating Spain, this monarchy became weaker, in proportion as its dominions were extended. Thus that reign, though so celebrated, is far from deserving to be quoted as a model.

Death of
Isabella
of
Castile.

The death of Isabella in 1504, gave rise to some disturbances. Her daughter, Joanna the Foolish, married to the Archduke Philip the Fair, was her sole heiress. King Ferdinand, at first in possession of the regency, was con-

Troubles
after
her death.
Ferdinand
regent.

strained to renounce it, and retire to Arragon. But Philip dying, the disorders being increased by the folly of Joanna, and her son Charles of Austria, afterwards Charles V., then very young, and at a distance from the kingdom, Ximenes thought that Ferdinand the Catholic was the only person capable of restoring tranquillity. He was therefore reinstated in the regency, and by his firmness dispelled the threatening storms.

Oran taken
by
Cardinal
Ximenes.

Ximenes, now raised to the dignity of Cardinal, and office of Grand Inquisitor, saw himself at the summit of power and fortune ; but he prudently quitted the court, that he might avoid giving offence to the king, with whose jealous temper he was acquainted. He afterwards proposed to take Oran in Africa at his own expense ; and Ferdinand, from a persuasion that he would not succeed, consented to the expedition, with a view to ruin him. He even wrote in the following terms to Pedro Navarro, admiral of the fleet in which Ximenes had embarked : *Do not suffer the good man to return so soon into Spain ; we must let him employ his person and his money.* But the king was deceived ; the Moors were beaten, and Oran submitted. That austere cardinal did not imitate the warlike prelates : like another Moses, he contented himself with invoking the God of battles and victory, inspiring a sort of enthusiasm, which, in such expeditions, is of the greatest advantage.

His own
contempt
of
learning.

Ximenes, who was a great man, and would have been still greater, had he surmounted the prejudices of his age, founded or restored the university of Alcala, caused a famous poly-

glot to be printed, and showed as much zeal for the promotion of learning and science, as for the reformation of the monks. By his cares, the learned languages were cultivated, and Spain produced a great number of civilians, and still more theologians. But what obstacles has not the inquisition thrown in the way of every new and useful truth? Spain, notwithstanding her universities, did not open her eyes till long after other nations much her inferiors in point of genius.

Italy was at that time filled with commotions by Julius II. This pontiff, of a haughty, ambitious, and intrepid spirit, incessantly employed in projects for aggrandizing himself, had already wrested Romagna from Borgia, Perousa from Baglioni, and Bologna from Bentivoglio. He had made Genoa revolt from Louis XII., to whom he owed some obligations; and, with a design to drive him entirely out of Italy, stirred up enemies against him from all quarters. That prince, having reduced the Genoese to obedience, was again deceived by the pontiff, in the famous league of Cambray formed against the Venetians. Let us here give some idea of a republic which was now become an object of jealousy to the principal powers of Europe.

Ambitious
enterprises
of
Julius II.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE LEAGUE OF CAMBRAI AGAINST THE VENETIANS, TO THE DEATH OF LOUIS XII. JULIUS II.

<sup>Government
of
Venice.</sup> WE have seen Venice take its rise in the fifth century, while Italy was a prey to the inundations of the barbarians. The little islands in the shoals of the Adriatic served as an asylum to the people of the neighbourhood, who at first subsisted by fishing. Each isle was governed by its peculiar tribune, and every tribune became a tyrant. These tyrants, perceiving the necessity of uniting, elected a duke, or doge, about the beginning of the eighth century. The doges, by a frequent abuse of their power, which had not been confined within due bounds, frequently raised disturbances, of which they often became the victims. A council, consisting of one hundred and forty citizens of all ranks, in which the supreme authority was vested, at last put a stop to the incroachments of those new magistrates, and the violence of popular commotions. But rich and ambitious men found too many ways to sap the constitution, for the sake of their own advantage.

<sup>Hereditary
aristocracy
in
1289.</sup> To this democratical form of government succeeded the hereditary aristocracy in 1289, in consequence of a regulation which annihilated the ancient equality, by granting to certain fa-

milies the exclusive right of forming the great council. Aristocracy always prognosticates a rigorous government, which is necessary for its support.

A number of families being excluded from a seat in the great council, naturally formed conspiracies ; to prevent the effects of which, the formidable Council of Ten was erected. This court is invested with the power of judging all the citizens, and sometimes it proceeds upon the reports of informers, as if they were proofs. The tribunal of three state inquisitors is still more dreadful. Even the doge is subjected to its secret procedures and arbitrary judgments. Spies, universally spread, served as accusers. Magistrates, private persons, natives, foreigners, every person on whom suspicion falls, is exposed to the loss of his life, without the slightest formality of justice. The person condemned by the three inquisitors, though he never knows his sentence, cannot avoid his death. Where is the monarchy, in which a despotism so tyrannical prevails ?

Thus is terror become the spring of the Venetian government ; to that principally it is indebted for subsisting so long a time upon the same footing. In it every thing is combined with so much art, whether we consider the election, duration, or functions of the magistrates, that it is almost impossible to raise any disturbance in the state. While the nobles keep the people in slavery, they are perpetually watching each other ; they are either united by interest, or tied down by their want of power, to form cabals. Hence that unchangeable plan, that uniformity of principles, unexampled in

Council
of
Ten.

State
inquisitors.

Venice
governed
by
terror.

any other government. Perhaps the state inquisition, like the ecclesiastical, produces a kind of calm ; but it is by the perpetuation of many abuses.

*Ambition
of that
republic.*

Venice, enriched by commerce, had indulged a passion for conquests, which is always dangerous to trading republics. In the time of the crusades, she had made considerable acquisitions of territory on the Grecian side ; and, a little before this period, had seized upon some lands belonging to her neighbours in Italy, and even in the ecclesiastical state. Success inspires pride, and pride leads on imprudence. The Venetians, though surrounded by potent enemies, braved the storm, not foreseeing that these would unite for their destruction.

*1506.
Provokes
the
emperor
Maximilian.*

The emperor Maximilian, who was desirous of being crowned at Rome, demanded leave to pass through their territories, which they granted, provided he came without troops. This amounted to a refusal, and Maximilian, in a rage, put them under the ban of the empire as rebels. He took the title of *Emperor Elect*, which Julius II. confirmed to him by a bull. But why this bull ? Why Venice put under the ban of the empire ? Obsolete pretensions were revived on every occasion. The arms of the emperor did not support this haughty procedure against the republic. Two imperial armies were defeated ; and, though the Venetians had been victorious with the assistance of the French, they concluded a truce without consulting their allies.

*League
of
Cambrai.*

On this occasion was secretly formed the famous league of Cambrai, for the destruction

of Venice. The pope, the emperor, the kings of France and Spain, with the duke of Savoy, had entered into a confederacy to strip her of her conquests. Considerable territories were claimed by each of them ;—Rimini and Ravenna by the pope ; Brescia, Bergamo, Crema, and Cremona, by Louis XII. ; Verona, Padua, Vicenza, Treviso, and Friuli, by Maximilian ; Brindisi, Trano, and Otranto, by Ferdinand ; and the isle or kingdom of Cyprus by the duke of Savoy. Had these powers continued united, Venice would infallibly have been ruined ; but Julius II. wished only to make his own advantage of the opportunity, being fully resolved, if possible, afterwards to rid Italy of those foreigners, whom he styled barbarians ; and could any dependence be put on the faith of Ferdinand the Catholic ?

This league, formed to gratify ambitious views, was covered with the mask of religion ; the confederates pretending, that the attack upon Venice was only a prelude to their signalizing their zeal against the Turks. The grand signor, therefore, offered assistance to the republic ; which was refused, probably less from any apprehension of having so dangerous a protector, though this be alleged by Fra Paolo, than from a dread of the clamours which would be raised by such an alliance.

Louis XII., who was to begin the war in person, so humbled the Venetians by his first successes, that, after the battle of Agnadelloa, near the Adda, which was followed by rapid conquests, the senate offered to acknowledge the emperor for their liege lord, and to pay him a yearly tribute of fifty thousand ducats.

Venice
refuses the
aid
of the Turk.

Louis XII.
humbles
the
Venetians.

But Maximilian refused their offer ; and, reviving their courage by driving them to despair, they retook from the Germans a great number of places, at the same time that they entered into a negotiation with Julius II., to whose interested policy they at last owed their preservation.

1510.
Julius II.
betrayed the
allies,
and takes
Mirandola
by
assault.

He had thundered against them the most violent anathemas, by which he even gave permission to seize their property and enslave their persons ; nor could they obtain absolution, which their circumstances rendered necessary, except by the cession of the towns of Romagna, and submission to the dictates of the pontiff. The senate, seeing only this humiliating means of preservation, submissively complied with all his demands ; upon which Julius, breaking his engagement with the allies, detached the king of Spain from their league, by giving him the full and entire investiture of the kingdom of Naples, and turned all the activity of his hatred against the king of France. Louis, by an ill-judged economy, having refused to augment the pensions of the Swiss, of whom, in an emotion of anger, he had even spoken with contempt, the pope armed them against him, attacked the duke of Ferrara, an ally of France, laid siege to Mirandola, and entered it by the breach, after having exposed himself to the greatest dangers, though in a very advanced age.

Loss of
the Milanese
and
Genoa.

While Julius was openly acting like an enemy, the king consulted the clergy of France, to know whether it was lawful to make war upon him. Such a consultation was undoubtedly superfluous ; but, at least, the answer of

the clergy was just and favourable. Yet the scruples of the queen, Anne of Bretagne, were prejudicial; because the king paid more regard to them than they deserved. The battle of Ravenna, gained by Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours, in 1512, procured the nation only fruitless glory. The Milanese was evacuated, and Genoa immediately revolted. The troops were not paid, and the generals were at variance. In such circumstances, what success could attend the French, notwithstanding their heroic valour? Bayard and his imitators did wonders, but they only served to raise admiration.

The king of France and the emperor had prevailed upon some cardinals to assemble a general council at Pisa; and Julius II. was summoned to appear before it. But he assembled another council at Rome to anathematize the former, which occasioned the loss of Navarre to John d'Albret, the ally and cousin of Louis XII. Ferdinand the Catholic wanted a pretence to strip him of his dominions, and found one in the excommunication published against the adherents of the council of Pisa. It is believed that the pope had bestowed that kingdom upon him by bull, and, though that bull be not extant, it appears worthy of a rival of Gregory VII. From the time of Ferdinand's usurpation, Navarre has continued part of the Spanish monarchy. Queen Catharine de Foix said to her husband, John d'Albret, when speaking on that subject, *Had you been born Catharine, and I Don John, we should not have lost our kingdom.*

Council of
Pisa.
Ferdinand
usurps
Navarre,
1512.

**Death
of
Julius II.** Julius II. died in 1513, above seventy years of age, and, to the last moment of his life, employed in the great design of driving all strangers out of Italy, Germans and Spaniards, as well as French. Equally successful and bold in his enterprises, he had considerably increased the dominions of the Holy See, having obliged the emperor to cede Parma, Placentia, and Reggio. He had the art of uniting and dividing the potentates, as was most subservient to his own interest. In a word, he shone in the character of a prince and a warrior, and seemed to forget that he was a pope. An anecdote is related of him, which will show in what light he viewed ecclesiastical affairs. The Germans, it is said, requesting permission to eat flesh on the feast of St Martin, when it fell on a meagre day, he granted it, on condition that, upon that day, they should taste no wine.

**He is
succeeded
by
Leo X.** The cardinal Medici, severely censured for his morals, and greatly to be extolled for his genius, mounted the papal throne, under the name of Leo X. He was son of the famous Lorenzo, and inherited the taste of his father, but was not endowed with the qualifications of a bishop. Yet the church never stood more in need of a virtuous pope, worthy to govern it. Learning and the arts deserved protection; but ecclesiastical affairs required the most consummate wisdom.

**Henry VII.
increas-
es of his
authority
in
England.** England had no influence in foreign affairs during the reign of Henry VII., which lasted twenty-six years. That prince, of an avaricious, distrustful temper, and averse from war, accumulated riches, and strengthened his au-

thority. Two counterfeit adventurers, who were stirred up against him by his enemies, fruitlessly attempted to seize the crown. The one, named Simnel, a baker's son, after being crowned in Ireland, thought himself happy in receiving an employment in the king's kitchen. The other, named Perkin Warbeck, son of a Jew, for five years played the part of a son of Edward IV., and at last lost his head upon a scaffold. When freed from these disturbances, Henry, by a rigid and vigorous government, joining policy to force, encouraging the barons to sell their lands, by that means augmenting the riches and power of the burgesses, weakened the great lords, and made the royal authority almost absolute. His son, Henry VIII., who succeeded him in 1509, will now appear upon the stage with great lustre. His abilities and virtues might have rendered him glorious; but, hurried away by the violence of his passions, he became an example of the greatest tyranny.

Simnel
and
Perkin.

Henry VIII.

In 1512, he had engaged in the league formed against France, by Julius II.; after whose death it was revived under Leo X. The French had a little before retaken the Milanese, and were again driven out of it by the Swiss, who restored Maximilian Sforza. Louis XII., then in alliance with the Venetians, was obliged, at once, to oppose the pope, the emperor, the English, and the Spaniards. On one side, Henry VIII. invaded Picardy, in conjunction with Maximilian, all whose expenses; even those of his table, were defrayed by the king of England; and, after gaining the victory of Guinegate, took Terouane and Tournay; while, on

League
against
Louis XII.

the other side, the Swiss laid siege to Dijon. That city would have been lost, had not its governor, La Tremoille, prevailed upon the Swiss to raise the siege, by promising that all their demands should be satisfied ; upon which they concluded a treaty, and retired. But the court affected to blame the governor, and, having taken proper precautions against a new invasion, annulled a treaty of which it had already reaped the advantage. Those fierce mountaineers, who styled themselves protectors of the Holy See, were much better soldiers than politicians.

1514.
Louis
concludes a
peace
with
the pope
and
Henry VIII.

But an accommodation being necessary, Louis XII. humbled himself before the pope, renounced the council of Pisa, which had been transferred to Lyons, and even engaged to levy war, if necessary, against its adherents ; by which means he was in appearance reconciled to Rome. He found less difficulty in gaining the king of England, who was irritated by the treachery of Ferdinand. His wife, Anne of Bretagne, being dead, he married Mary, sister of Henry VIII. ; but he in a manner purchased that match, by the payment of a million of gold crowns : so critical was the situation of his affairs. Louis forgot his age of fifty-three, in the arms of a young queen, and shortened his days by his pleasures. He died the year following, still taken up with the project of recovering the Milanese ; a design which we shall see more fatal to his successor.

His death.

Benefices
and
errors
of
Louis XII.

The memory of Louis XII. will always be blessed, because he diminished the old taxes one half, and never laid on any new, notwithstanding his wars and ill successes. What he

said in vindication of his economy will be always praised,—*I had rather see the courtiers laugh at my avarice, than my people weep on account of my expenses.* But ought he not to have spared his people the shedding of many tears, either by sacrificing to them his dangerous ambition of making conquests in Italy, or by raising subsidies, without which he must necessarily expect a reverse of fortune? He procured some supply by the sale of offices; which was a very dangerous example, though it did not extend to those of judicature. It was not imagined that employments, which suppose so great knowledge, and so many virtues in those who hold them, could ever become venal. Yet we shall see, that this really happened in the very beginning of the next reign. In matters that concern the revenue especially, one abuse almost always draws after it others of more pernicious tendency.

CHAPTER VII.

BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF FRANCIS I. TO THE
RISE OF LUTHERANISM.

^{1515.}
^{Francis I.}
^{His}
^{passion for}
^{conquest.}

^{Odious}
^{venality of}
^{offices.}

LOUIS XII. was succeeded by Francis count of Angouleme, first prince of the blood ; and this monarch, young, high-spirited, brave, and ambitious, but destitute of prudence, immediately turned his views upon Italy. The preparations already made not being sufficient, he was prompted, by want of money, to set to sale the most venerable of all rights, that of sitting in judgment on the lives and properties of the subjects. This expedient, which was contrived even by the man who presided over the distribution of justice, the chancellor du Prat, was so contrary to all principles, that, so long after as the year 1597, the parliament exacted an oath of the new members, that they had not purchased their offices. Thus was perjury in a manner made a necessary requisite for distributing justice in the courts ! To such extremites may the abuses of government lead mankind !

^{Battle}
^{of}
^{Marignano}

Francis I., after passing the Alps, found an unforeseen opportunity of signalizing his valour. Though he had entered into a negotia-

tion with the Swiss, that warlike nation had taken up arms against him, at the instigation of the cardinal of Sion, that is, of the court of Rome; but he defeated them at the celebrated battle of Marignano, which lasted two days. It is a fact attested by all historians, that he slept upon the carriage of a gun, at fifty paces distance from a Swiss battalion. But they take sufficient care to display the hero; we shall more frequently remark his errors, because they afford more instruction. This victory was followed by the conquest of the Milanese, and Maximilian Sforza, as well as his father Lodovico, ended his days in France. But, notwithstanding this success, that country was fatal to the French.

In 1516, Spain lost Ferdinand the Catholic, whom we shall see succeeded by the formidable Charles V. If the glory of sovereigns is to be estimated by their abilities and good fortune, there are few who can be compared to Ferdinand. To him the Spanish monarchy is indebted for its grandeur. He is even said to have formed a project for universal empire; and his successors made the world dread its being carried into execution. But is the art of deceiving, which he practised as much as that of conquering, worthy of a great man? Were not his enterprises rendered more odious by the religious zeal with which they were varnished? Is not his memory stained with all the blood that has been shed by the Inquisition?

After the conquest of Naples, he used his utmost endeavours to establish in that kingdom the tribunal which the French look upon as tyrannical, and as contrary to the spirit of reli-

against the
Swiss.

1516.
Death
of
Ferdinand
the
Catholic.

The
Napolitans
refuse
to admit
the
Inquisition.

gion as to the principles of good government ; but the Neapolitans, though extremely superstitious, would never submit to it, and the king's zeal was obliged to be satisfied with the expulsion of the Jews. As he bore no affection to his grandson Charles of Austria, he had destined Spain to Ferdinand, the younger brother of that prince ; but he changed his resolution by the advice of his subjects, and united all his crowns on the same head. Nor was Charles unworthy to bear them.

*Regency
of
Ximenes.*

Cardinal Ximenes, who was appointed regent of Castile till the arrival of the archduke, was hated by the grandees, on account of the imperious government which he exercised over them, and must have encountered a rebellion, if he had been a man of less abilities and courage. The malecontents one day asked him what right he had to the government of Castile, and alleged that Ferdinand, being only administrator, could not bestow the regency on him ; but the sole answer he made was, the ordering a battery of cannon to play in their presence, adding, *These are my rights, dare you contest them?* This minister humbled the nobility still more by arming the burgesses. His austere and irreproachable manners, profound and elevated genius, his greatness of soul, which nothing could shake, his reputation and services, scarcely balanced the hatred raised by the haughty severity of his temper. He died in disgrace in 1517, at the age of four-score, without seeing the new master of Spain.

*Death of
the
emperor
Maximilian,*

Maximilian left the empire vacant by his death, which happened in 1519. This turbulent prince had been perpetually at war,

though he had neither troops nor money. He had even raised his views to the tiara, during an illness of Julius II. The bishop of Gurck was to distribute three hundred thousand ducats among the cardinals, in order to purchase their voices ; and that money was furnished by some merchants of Augsburg. But what part could he have played, had the imperial and papal powers been united in his person ? or would such an union have been suffered to take place, where all states were kept in motion, and formed into political confederacies ? Maximilian knew that the emperors had been masters of Rome ; perhaps he had formed designs, in favour of his posterity, upon that city, which is so tempting a bait to ambition.

In his reign, Germany was divided into circles. There were at first six ; viz. those of Bavaria, Franconia, Saxony, the Rhine, Swabia, and Westphalia ; to which were afterwards added those of Austria, Burgundy, for the Low Countries, the Lower Rhine, and Upper Saxony. This distribution was particularly advantageous for the collection of the public monies. An attempt was likewise made to establish order and tranquillity ; but the abuses of anarchy, in one word, the feudal government was, for a long time after this, to make that part of Europe a theatre of disturbances, discords, and civil wars.

In 1495, a diet, assembled at Worms, erected the *Imperial Chamber*, which is now fixed at Wetzlar. This tribunal is supreme, and judges civil causes between the states, in the last resort. The Aulic council, all the members of which are named by the emperor, may judge

them in like manner ; and the plaintiff has his choice of those tribunals. But the feudal and Italian causes belong solely to the latter. However, the Germanic constitution, which, till the treaty of Westphalia, was irregular and uncertain, did not even by that acquire a perfect consistency. A body divided into so many independent sovereignties, where such a number of particular interests clash with that of the public, is little susceptible of a good constitution.

*Exactions
of
the pope
in
Germany.*

The court of Rome still tyrannized over Germany ; the concordate of 1448, under Frederic III., however advantageous it might be to the popes, being executed only in those points which turned to their advantage. The old abuses were heightened by new exactions. According to Maximilian himself, the Holy See drew from the empire more than five hundred thousand ducats annually ; and that emperor chose rather to wink at this evil, of which he complained, than to quarrel with a court, whose invincible arms were so much to be dreaded.

*Critical
cir:
cumstances
for
the pope.*

Meantime a storm was gathering. Men's minds were heated, and a spark of fanaticism might produce a conflagration. Leo X., with all his abilities, in some measure fanned the fire which he ought to have quenched. We shall soon see irreparable breaches made in the Catholic church.

*1516.
Concordate
between
Leo X.
and
Francis I.*

In 1516, after the battle of Marignano, the pope had been artful enough to bring Francis I., against whom he had joined in a league, to an accommodation, on terms the most advantageous for the court of Rome. The pragma-

tic of Charles VII., which had been so often anathematized, was abolished by the celebrated concordat, which gives the king the nomination to the great benefices, and secures to the pope the annates, though it does not expressly mention them. The king presents the persons whom he has named, and the pope institutes them, and receives the annate. By what right could the latter grant a nomination which did not belong to him? and for what reason did the former purchase it by making the church of France tributary? We here discern the fruits of the ancient abuses. The university, the clergy, and parliament, defended the pragmatic with the greatest warmth, but as much from prejudice as zeal. Above all things, they desired to maintain the custom of elections, though even these were liable to so many abuses. The concordate was registered by force in 1518, but is observed to this day.

CHAPTER VIII.

LUTHERANISM ESTABLISHED UNDER THE PONTIFICATE OF LEO X.

*Leo X.
causes
indulgences
to
be sold.*

LEO X., though triumphant, if I may use the expression, over a great kingdom, was doomed to be foiled and stripped by a monk ; and his imprudences gave birth to Lutheranism. The magnificent church of St Peter, which had been begun by Julius II., the pomp and pleasures of the Roman court, the gratifications lavished upon the literati and artists, with a thousand other ostentatious expenses, having exhausted the papal treasury, he made no scruple of employing a resource, which superstition had, for a long time, rendered equally easy and profitable. Under the hackneyed pretence of a war against the Turks, he published indulgences to all who would contribute money ; and, to the scandal of religion, those indulgences were sold in Germany, even in the taverns. In particular, the Dominican Tetzel distinguished himself by intolerable excesses.

*Luther
declaims
against the
abuse.*

The world was so much accustomed to abuses, and popular credulity is so stupid, that every thing succeeded to the wish of the Roman court ; when, according to the generality of historians, a quarrel between two orders of

monks became the signal of a furious revolt. The Dominicans had been commissioned by the pope to preach up the indulgences, and they acquitted themselves in the usual method, exaggerating, in an absurd manner, the efficacy of those spiritual acts of grace. The Augustines, envious of a preference which they imagined an infringement of their rights, were filled with resentment against the preachers. Martin Luther, a learned theologian of that order, and a man of a fiery temper, who was already tinctured with bold opinions, eagerly seized the opportunity of signalizing himself, and in Saxony ran down the doctrines of the Dominicans respecting indulgences, the ill effects of which he demonstrated, declaimed against the vices, frauds, and extortions of the pontifical court, made himself be listened to, and was supported, because people were weary of paying money to support the luxury of Rome.

Luther at first only attacked things really censurable, at the same time testifying the utmost reverence and submission to the Holy See. By proper management, he might have been gained over; and that would have been the most prudent method, though Leo X. was exhorted by a Dominican to persecute him with fire and sword. But, far from soothing this dangerous adversary, he was treated with contempt, he was irritated, his audacity was inflamed by resentment and despair; and, being drawn on from one object to another, after declaiming against abuses, he attacked the doctrines.

Instead
of soothing
him, he is
uselessly
irritated.

He no longer
keeps any
measures.

According to him, indulgences were follies, purgatory a fable, the pontifical power an usurpation ; the monastic vows, the greatest part of the ceremonies and sacraments, so many monstrous superstitions. He poured out a torrent of reproaches, which were still taken for reasons ; inculcated the most rigid morality, which always added the greatest weight to his doctrines ; held out the scriptures as the sole rule of faith, notwithstanding the contrary senses in which they have been frequently explained ; invited all Christians to an examination flattering to vanity, but of which so few men are capable ; in a word, setting himself up as a reformer, he effected by fanaticism what reason could never have accomplished. *Consubstantiation*, which he substituted for *transubstantiation*, in the doctrine of the eucharist, is alone sufficient to prove how badly he reasoned.

Sentence
of
condemna-
tion against
him by
the pope.

In 1518, he appealed to a general council from a decree in favour of indulgences, by which the pope styled himself the steward of the spiritual treasure arising from the superabundant merits of Jesus Christ and the saints. In 1520, Leo published a bull condemning his doctrine in forty articles. One of these bears, that to burn heretics is acting contrary to the will of the Holy Spirit ; and another, that princes and prelates would do well to suppress the wallets of the Mendicants. Was it prudent to confound these propositions with heresies ? The bull not only condemned Luther's works to the flames, but commanded the extermination of him and his adherents, if he did not recant his errors in sixty days. The sole consequence of the publication of this bull was, that

Luther, by a sentence of the university of Wittemberg, caused it to be burned, together with the decretals.

Two things greatly contributed to the success of the reformation ; the interest of the princes and people, who were desirous of shaking off the Romish yoke ; and the facility of spreading the new opinions by help of the press. The church of Rome in a few years lost Saxony, Hesse, Brunswick, Denmark, and Sweden. Zurich, Berne, and great part of Switzerland, adopted the sentiments of Zuinglius, a parish priest of Zurich, who attacked the doctrine of the eucharist with more boldness than Luther. Geneva in a short time followed their example ; and, by changing its religion, erected itself into a free city. We shall see England, Scotland, the Low Countries, and part of France, follow the stream of novelty. No revolution is more worthy of a particular examination, whether we consider its principles or effects.

One great advantage of the Lutheran sect was, its being supported by divines who were possessed of a stock of literature, who understood the learned languages, examined the antiquities of the church, and gained the esteem and confidence of men of understanding ; while the populace were inflamed by enthusiasts. It was an easy matter for them to cry down abuses, which had been introduced into the church during a period of long and gross ignorance, and which were unhappily defended with the same obstinacy and zeal as the articles of the faith. It was still more easy for them to discredit the fashionable theology, whose

Rapid
progress of
Luther:
anism.

The
learning of
its
divines
greatly
contributed
to it.

weapons were for the most part only futile subtleties and stiff pedantic pride.

Erasmus correct in his judgments. Erasmus himself, though a firm friend to the church, ridiculed the doctors of Paris, and some ancient superstitions. Accordingly, men have not been wanting to raise suspicions of his faith. But can it now be doubted, that we should have reaped great advantage by acting in conformity to the principles of that judicious man? The innovators would have been left without any pretext for a revolt.

A reformation was extremely difficult. But it must be acknowledged, that the more a great reformation was necessary, the more it was difficult. Of the many examples which demonstrate this truth, I shall only select one. The cardinal d'Amboise, in quality of legate of Alexander VI., attempted to reform the religious orders, and, for this purpose, a committee of bishops visited the monasteries of the Jacobins in 1503, when the friars had recourse to arms, and, twelve or thirteen hundred scholars coming to their assistance, drove out the reformers. Nor did they find the Cordeliers more docile, though these did not, like the others, proceed to acts of hostility. The obstacles raised by the court of Rome must have been more formidable. Yet even sound policy required sacrifices to be made, and efforts to be used; but the pope refused to yield the least article.

The pope was strangely minded. Leo X., who was a man of uncommon abilities and knowledge; whose principal secretaries, Bembo and Sadolet, held a distinguished rank in the learned world; and who, in a word, was one of the ablest politicians of his time, ought certainly to have been sensible that a

despotism, founded solely on opinion, threatened ruin, when that opinion was shaken by violent attacks: he ought to have seen that, in order to maintain the faith, it was indispensably requisite to lessen the abuses. How could the court of Rome imagine that, when men's eyes were opened, they would continue to act as if they were blind?

That court may be said to have furnished arms against itself. Leo approved the poem

of Ariosto by a bull, and threatened all who should do any thing in prejudice of the printer, with excommunication. A similar bull was issued by Clement VII. in favour of the immoral writings of Machiavel. And did the popes require that rigid enthusiasts, who had incessantly in their mouths the *pure gospel*, should pay respect to their bulls and censures? One of the most signal instances of imprudence, which has continued even to our own times, has been, that the court of Rome frequently acted in the same manner as in those ages, when men either did not think at all, or had not learned to think justly.

Bulls and
excommunicate
treatments
with contempt.

When reason emerged from the abyss of darkness, she must necessarily have opened her eyes on objects that gave her disgust. But cool, circumspect, an enemy to extremes, and little calculated for influencing the multitude, she could only extort a sigh from a small number of enlightened men, or, at most, pave the way for a slow revolution. The philosophers of Athens and Rome never wrought any change in the national worship by unveiling the absurdities of polytheism. This change, therefore, was produced by other causes. Theology

Reason
alone
would have
produced
little
change.
True cause.

first traced out the plan ; policy found an interest in it ; and fanaticism carried it into execution. But fanaticism is a volcano, whose fires are never extinguished till after dreadful eruptions.

Fanaticism soon armed the Swiss and the peasants in Germany.

Hence arose the invincible enthusiasm of the preachers and their followers. Hence afterwards sprung the religious wars, a thousand times worse than all the disorders which had raised such loud complaints. Fanaticism soon armed the Catholic cantons of Lucerne, Zug, Schwitz, Ury, and Underwalden, against the other Swiss who had separated from the church of Rome. Zwinglius having been slain in a battle, his dead body was dismembered and burned, as it were on purpose to inflame the atrocious hatred of the two parties. Fanaticism metamorphosed into savage beasts a great part of the German peasants, whom it inspired with a passion for a chimerical independency or equality. Muncer, their most formidable ringleader, perished on a scaffold, after the massacre of his followers. But this example did not intimidate the new sect of Anabaptists, who received that name from their insisting on the necessity of a second baptism, looking upon that of infants as null. Among them were to be no superiors, no dignities, and all possessions were to be in common. Yet one of their leaders, John Boccold,* a journeyman tailor of Leyden, by speaking in the name of the

* Boccold had married fourteen wives, one of whom expressing some doubts of his pretended divine mission, he cut off her head, after having reproached her for this blasphemy ; and the thirteen others danced round her body with transports of joy. Thus we see that fanaticism at once led to debauchery and inhumanity.

Lord, caused himself to be crowned king of Munster, and obstinately held out that city against the bishop and the troops of the empire ; but, being at last obliged to surrender, his flesh was torn off with red-hot pincers.

Almost all these mad enthusiasts were massacred, because they had neither general nor discipline. In a word, we shall see fanaticism, either persecuted or persecuting, turn Europe into a slaughter-house, and fill it with carnage, under pretence of zeal for that religion of charity, which commands to love and do good to all men.

CHAPTER IX.

REVOLUTIONS IN THE NORTH, PARTICULARLY IN SWEDEN AND DENMARK.

LET us now cast our eyes on the North, which was still immersed in barbarism : But here presents to us the spectacle of an important revolution, that by its consequences in a short time interested all the powers of Europe.

Sweden,
Denmark,
and
Norway,
united by
Margaret de
Waldemar.

All the sovereigns of these countries were elective, according to the ancient custom of the Barbarians. In 1397, the crowns of Sweden, Denmark and Norway, were united by Margaret de Waldemar, surnamed the Semiramis of the North. The three nations having held a common diet at Calmar, it was agreed that the king should be elected in the three several kingdoms by turns, and that each nation should preserve its own laws, customs, privileges, and dignities. But this union between rival and warlike kingdoms could not subsist, except under a government of the most consummate wisdom.

The union
broken after
her death.
Christian
II.

No disturbance happened during the life of Margaret, whose prudence and resolution made them forget that they were under the government of a woman ; but, after her death, the national antipathies revived. The kings, con-

trary to the established regulation, fixed their residence in Denmark, and Sweden and Norway were treated as provinces ; upon which the former rose in arms, and elected for her king Canutson, great-uncle of the famous Gustavus Vasa. Being again oppressed, she had, a little before this period, shaken off the yoke by creating an administrator, when, in 1513, the throne of Denmark was conferred upon Christian II., a tyrant capable of sacrificing every thing to his passions ; but who at least felt by experience, that a prince cannot be the scourge of the people, without exposing himself to be the victim of their revenge.

Tollo, archbishop of Upsal, primate of Sweden, a man whom his dignity made too powerful, and his character too dangerous, being convicted of carrying on a correspondence with Christian, and deposed by the senate, had recourse to Leo X., from whom he received a bull against his country, and by that means strengthened the cause of the tyrant, who, notwithstanding, was unsuccessful in his first expedition. But treacherously veiling his designs, he pretended to be desirous of an accommodation, and promised to come to Stockholm, provided he received seven hostages ; one of whom should be young Gustavus Vasa, grand-nephew of King Canutson, who was already distinguished for his merit and valour. But when the hostages were brought on board of the fleet, he carried them off prisoners, sporting with the faith of treaties, as he did with the lives of men.

This infamous action was a prelude to the most horrid barbarities. Sweden was reduced

The
primate of
Sweden,
cabals
in favour of
the
tyrant.

The senate
of
Sweden

^{massacred.} to subjection ; and Christian being crowned at
^{1520.} Stockholm, put on the mask of clemency, that he might exert his rage with impunity. He gave a loose to festivity ; and having assembled the principal senators and nobles at an entertainment, the primate Trollo suddenly demanded satisfaction in name of the pope. The guests were seized by the ministers of the tyrant's cruelty, put under confinement, and condemned as heretics. Eric Vasa, father of Gustavus, with fourscore and fourteen senators, and others, were massacred, after a public reading of the bull of Leo ; and the whole city of Stockholm was next bathed in blood. In a word, the tyranny seemed firmly cemented by carnage. What a triumph for a king, and, above all, for a bishop !

^{Sweden delivered by Gustavus Vasa.} But an avenger of the guilt appeared. Gustavus having escaped from prison, and taken refuge in the mountains of Dalecarlia, where he concealed himself among the peasants, and worked in the mines, though without any resource but his courage, projected, and found means to bring about, a revolution. Having made himself known, he soon procured a number of adherents, whom he furnished with arms, and triumphed over every obstacle. Part of Sweden was recovered from the Danes, so early as in 1521. Christian gratified his revenge, by causing the mother and sister of that hero to be drowned. Equally destitute of prudence and humanity, the Nero of the North, for so he has justly been styled, did not perceive that the more he rendered himself odious, the more precipices he dug under his own feet.

His own subjects, irritated by his oppressions, thought themselves authorized to shake off a yoke, which they could no longer bear with patience, and deposed him in 1523; when Munce, the chief justice of Jutland, boldly entered his presence, and gave him notice of the act which deprived him of the crown. That magistrate, boasting of an action which displayed such extraordinary courage, said, *My name ought to be written on the palace gates of all bad princes.* Christian could never be restored by Charles V., his father-in-law. His uncle, Frederic, duke of Holstein, was elected king of Denmark, and Gustavus Vasa, king of Sweden.

In these kingdoms, a change of religion soon after took place; which was the more remarkable, as it was effected almost without disturbance or constraint. Leo's bull, which had served as a pretext to so many actions of horror; the traffic of indulgences carried on by the nuncio Arcemboldi, the profits of which are said to have amounted to near two millions of florins, notwithstanding the poverty of the country; the excessive riches of the clergy, and the dominion which they exercised over the people; the usurpations of the bishops, who had even got most of the strong places of the kingdom into their hands, were so many concurring causes that prompted every man, who opened his eyes on the abuses, to desire a reformation. Gustavus and Frederic artfully promoted Lutheranism, without seeming to be determined in its favour. The clergy put themselves in motion; but this served as an additional reason for completing the change.

Christian
dethroned
by
the Danes

Change
of
religion in
the
North easily
effected.

At last, the states of Denmark, and even the church of Sweden, solemnly embraced the doctrine of Luther ; and the people in a short time modelled their belief on that of their leaders, nearly as in the times when Christianity was introduced among the barbarians. Gustavus died in 1560. His government had been absolute ; but Sweden was not on that account less happy under his dominion.

Muscovy
and
Poland.
The
Jagellons.

It would be superfluous to enter into particulars, with regard to Muscovy and Poland. The first was at that time almost unknown, though the Czar John Basilowitz I. had conquered the kingdoms of Casan and Astracan ; nor did it emerge from obscurity till the beginning of the eighteenth century, when we shall see a great prince, blessed with a creative genius, give birth to a regular police and the fine arts in that country. The second, sunk in equal darkness, was the theatre of anarchy. Ladislas, the first of the Jagellons, was elected king in 1382, and the crown continued hereditary in his family for several generations ; but, having neither the disposal of the public money, nor the command of the army, the kings never could be regarded but as the chiefs of a republic, where the want of laws and subordination rendered it impossible to establish a rational system of government. Indeed, how could Poland have a shadow of it, while the *Veto* of any single nobleman might prevail against all the suffrages, as we see to be the case even at this day ; while the whole body of the people, enslaved by the nobility, had no other sentiment but that of its own low and miserable condition ; while a nobleman, who had

murdered one of his *serfs*, was quit for laying a few crowns upon the grave? Such abuses having taken deep root in a succession of many centuries, necessarily perpetuated the miseries of a nation, till extraordinary events overturned the whole, in order to bring about an entire renovation.

The Teutonic order having subdued Prussia, under pretence of destroying paganism, and oppressed it by acts of injustice, that country had revolted in the middle of the fifteenth century, and put itself under the protection of Poland, which occasioned bloody wars. Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg, grand master of the order, having embraced Lutheranism, and being desirous to aggrandize himself at the expense of the knights, made a partition of Prussia with his uncle Sigismond, king of Poland, on condition of doing homage to that crown in the year 1525. This gave rise to the distinction between Royal and Ducal Prussia. The descendants of Albert have preserved the latter, which was freed from vassalage in 1657, and erected into a kingdom at the beginning of this century. What a low original for a state, which we see so powerful, under a great monarch! Its foundations may be said to have been laid by Luther.

Prussia
under the
Teutonic
order,



TENTH EPOCH.

**CHARLES THE FIFTH, EMPEROR. POWER OF
THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA. COUNCIL OF TRENT.**

FROM THE YEAR MDXIX. TO ABOUT MDLX.

CHAPTER I.

**ELECTION OF CHARLES V. HIS WARS, TO THE
BATTLE OF PAVIA.**

THE principal causes which render this epoch so interesting are, grand schemes of policy and ambition ; continual wars, from which we shall see others take their rise ; absolute monarchs, whose caprices determined the fate of nations ; an overgrown power ready to subdue Europe and America ; a new religion rending the church, and violently breaking the papal yoke ; a thirst for riches, inflamed by the gold of the New World ; and the cultivation of genius, which at first was productive of more mischief than real advantage. The most remarkable

Idea of this epoch.

events presented to us in the history of the last ages, originated from the grandeur of the house of Austria under Charles V.

Qualities
of
Charles
V.

That prince, who was born at Ghent in 1500, to the Archduke Philip, son of the Emperor Maximilian, by Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand the Catholic, possessed every qualification proper to support the first part in the great theatre of the world. He was brave, active, assiduous, prudent, and endowed with a vast genius, cultivated by study and exercise; but to these he unhappily joined a boundless ambition, and that crafty policy, which had been reduced into a system by his grandfather Ferdinand.

King
of
Spain in
1516.

Having ascended the throne of Spain in 1516, he at first was obliged to struggle with the fury of those civil storms, which so often break out under new governments. A Flemish archbishop of Toledo, and Flemish ministers, who were intrusted with the whole authority, became objects of hatred to the Spaniards. Associations were formed in the provinces; and the Cardinal Adrian, preceptor to the king, who was named to the regency of Castile, a man of virtue, but far from possessing a genius equal to that office, increased the ferment instead of appeasing it. In 1522, the holy *league*, which was the name assumed by the Castilian rebels, sent to the king demands almost equally strong and bold with those of the English commons under the Stuarts, and the spirit of liberty kindled a furious civil war. Padilla, general of the league, having been defeated, made prisoner, and executed, his widow, Maria Pacheco, defended Toledo like a heroine, till

the clergy, enraged that she had stripped the churches, in order to defray the expenses of the war, stirred up the people against her, by representing her as a sorceress. These troubles continued till 1522, when they were quieted by the presence of Charles. *Too much blood is spilt*, said he, after having made some examples. An amnesty granted to the rebels was more effectual than severities, and the king strengthened his authority by clemency. Some of his courtiers acquainting him with the place where one of the principal malecontents was concealed, he humanely replied, *You ought to warn him that I am here, rather than inform me where he is.*

Spain, the Two Sicilies, the Low Countries, and Franche Comté, were already under the dominion of Charles, when the death of Maximilian, who a little before had caused him to be elected king of the Romans, opened for him a way to the empire. Francis I., who was six years older than he, and more celebrated for his warlike exploits, likewise intrigued for the imperial crown. The power of each of the competitors gave just apprehension to the Germans, who were jealous of their liberties; but the votes were purchased. The Spanish ambassador had two thousand merks of gold to distribute. Besides, Selim I., sultan of the Turks, after the reduction of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, threatened Europe, and a powerful emperor was necessary to stop his progress. Yet Frederic the Wise, elector of Saxony, celebrated for his protection of Luther, was the person pitched upon; but he refused the crown, and fixed the votes in

1519.
Charles
elected
emperor in
preference to
Francis
I.

favour of Charles V., thinking Francis I. less worthy of preference, as being a foreigner, and more to be dreaded, as his dominions bordered upon Germany.

Capitulation which he is obliged to sign. Care was taken to make Charles sign a capitulation for the maintenance of the liberties and rights of the Germanic body, which expressly stipulates, that the empire shall not be hereditary ; yet it has invariably continued in the house of Austria. Under a too formidable head, the empire would unquestionably have become an absolute monarchy, had it not been for the interest of the rest of Europe to oppose such a revolution.

Sends no ambassador to the pope. From the time of Otho IV., it had been a custom for the new emperors to send an embassy to Rome, giving notice of their election, and paying *obeisance* to the pope ; but Charles V. dispensed himself from the observation of this custom, and his example has been too powerful for the pretensions of the Holy See ; for frequently no more is necessary to abolish long customs founded only on opposite examples. Yet this haughty sovereign, the master of so many states, and who first assumed the title of Majesty, held the bridle and stirrup to the pope when he was crowned by Adrian VI. at Bologna, in 1530 ; and the same day was admitted canon of the two principal churches in Rome. This world is made up of a mass of contradictions.

Charles and Francis rivals. Though the kings of France and Spain had carried on their competition for the empire with all the external appearances of mutual friendship, yet the preference given to one necessarily exasperated the other, especially as

Their rivalship was not limited to this object. Henry VIII., king of England, was powerful enough to hold the balance between them, and policy seemed to dictate that measure; but his own passions, and those of his ministers, made him relinquish a system by which he would have acquired so great glory. We shall find this prince committing perpetual errors, because his conduct was directed solely by caprice.

He was at that time governed by Wolsey, who, though the son of a butcher, had been promoted to the archbishopric of York, with several other sees; was cardinal, legate, chancellor, and gained an absolute ascendant over the king's counsels, by flattering his inclinations, and sharing his pleasures, in order to lead him as he pleased. Though possessed of revenues almost equal to those of the crown, yet he was still equally insatiable and lavish; in a word, he was one of those men who employ their superior genius in putting the world into commotion, in order to gratify their own ambition. England acted as the interest of Wolsey directed.

Wolsey
minister of
England.

The king of France had gained him by flattery, and even obtained from him the restitution of Tournay, as the portion of the princess Mary, who had been promised to the dauphin. The dauphin and the princess were still infants. Such uncertain marriages often made the basis of treaties. Francis, projecting a war against the emperor, and desirous of having Henry VIII. for his ally, proposed to him an interview at Calais. Charles, still more artful, went to pay Henry a visit at Dover, where, by

Gained by
the
emperor
and king of
France
in
turn.

his caresses and a promise of the tiara, he gained Wolsey to his party. The celebrated interview at Calais, which is distinguished by the name of the *Field of the Cloth of Gold*, ended only in a ruinous ostentation of magnificence. The time was passed in festivals, and nothing concluded. The emperor afterwards received a visit from Henry at Gravelines, and there completed his design, by conferring on Wolsey the revenues of two bishoprics in Spain.

Variable policy of Leo X. Leo X., on his side, maintained between those rivals an artful conduct, in which the interest of the papacy prevailed over the public weal. His great object was the recovery of Parma and Placentia, the possession of Ferrara, and the expulsion of foreigners from Italy, after having made them instruments of his own aggrandizement. He had opposed the election of Charles V., under pretence of a law enacted by Clement IV., excluding the kings of Naples from the empire. He then promised him the investiture of that kingdom, soon after entered into the views of Francis I., and again sided with Charles V. In a word, that party, from which he could draw the greatest advantage, had, in his eyes, the justest cause, and the whole political system of the Roman court was limited to the art of sowing divisions and amassing money.

Navarre retaken. Loss of Genoa and the Milanese. 1521. The war was soon lighted up. Henry d'Albret, taking advantage of the disturbances in Spain, and the absence of the Austrian monarch, with the assistance of a French army recovered Navarre, which had been wrested from his family, and which Charles still held, though he had promised to restore it by the

treaty of Noyon, concluded in 1516. But the French imprudently invading Castile, the Spaniards then united against them, and drove them out of Navarre almost the moment they had conquered it. Robert de la Marck, duke of Bouillon, having dared to declare war against the emperor, the latter declared it against the king of France, whom he with reason imagined to be the prime mover of this enterprise. Francis lost the Milanese and Genoa, by the fault of Lautrec, governor of the country, who was detested by the Italians, deserted by the Swiss, and defeated at Bicocca. But this misfortune may be principally ascribed to the king himself, and his mother the duchess of Angouleme, who dissipated the money that ought to have paid the troops.

The misfortunes of Francis I. were principally owing to his being as fond of pleasure as of war, and entirely unacquainted with that economy which is so necessary even in peace. It cost the life of Samblançai, superintendent of the finances, who was hanged, as if he had been obliged to work miracles.

In the mean time died Leo X., at the age of ^{Adrian VI.}
<sub>succeeds
Leo X.</sub> fourty-four, and Charles V., who wanted a pope whom he could direct as he pleased, caused his preceptor to be elected. The resentment of Wolsey was to be dreaded; but Adrian being far advanced in years, the emperor soothed the English minister with the hopes of succeeding; and, having taken a voyage to England, at last engaged Henry VIII. to join in the war. Vigilant, indefatigable, managing his negotiations in person, and with great skill, what advantages had he not over an enemy, who

Cause of
these
disasters.

thought only of his pleasures? Nothing but the conflict of arms seemed capable of rousing Francis I.

Conduct of the new pope. The new pope showed his gratitude by abolishing the tribute of eight thousand ounces of gold, which was paid by the kingdom of Naples, and by granting to the crown of Spain the right of presentation to bishoprics, together with the perpetual administration of the grand military commanderies. He owed his fortune to letters, as Leo X. was indebted to them for his glory. He is reproached with having forgotten them on the papal throne. But, in fact, what was his learning? Scholastic philosophy and theology; at most, a pedantic erudition. Without taste, without genius, austere, harsh, and parsimonious to an extreme, is it surprising, that men of learning did not find in him a Medici?

Grand confederacy against France. Francesco Sforza had already recovered Milan, because the Swiss, for want of pay, refused to serve; and a strong confederacy was formed to crush Francis I.; the pope, the emperor, the king of England, the archduke Ferdinand, to whom his brother, Charles V., had ceded the German dominions of the house of Austria; the states of Milan, Venice, Florence, and Genoa, all uniting against a single power. It is a glorious spectacle to behold this prince braving the storm; but prudence would have been of more utility than courage, and a new fault brought the state to the brink of ruin.

1523. Persecution of the constable de Bourbon. Of all men, it was necessary to have kept fair with the constable de Bourbon, who was equally distinguished by his merit and his birth. To him had been in a great measure owing the

victory at Marignano. The duchess of Angoulême, who hated him because he had refused to marry her, sought every opportunity of doing him an injury ; and the chancellor du Prat served the resentment of that princess but too effectually. A claim was set up on the constable's family estate, and he lost his cause ; upon which, in a fit of despair, he entered into a correspondence with the emperor. The king was informed of this, and might have seized his person, but suffered himself to be duped, and the constable made his escape. Every body knows the saying of a Spanish nobleman, whose palace was fixed upon for his reception : *If the constable lodges in my house, I will burn it after his departure, as a place infected with treachery.* But courts are seldom guided by those noble sentiments, which tend to the beneficial purpose of bringing a disgrace upon villany. Treachery is honoured when it is found advantageous.

To the great generals of Charles V., Bourbon, Pescara, and John Medici, the king of France only opposed the admiral Bonnivet, a man whose sole merit was his favour at court, with forces too much inferior to those of the enemy. The event was such as might be expected ; no solid success, and considerable losses. The battle of Biagrassa or Rebecca, is less celebrated for the defeat of the French than for the death of Bayard, the model of knights. At his death, he replied to the marks of pity shown him by the duke of Bourbon, with these words : *It is you who ought to be pitied, for fighting against your king, your country, and your oaths.*

Bonnivet
defeated in
Italy.
Death of
the
Chevalier
Bayard.

Siege of
Marseilles
raised.

At least the French defended themselves gloriously in their own country, though attacked on every side. Bourbon himself, whom the emperor and Henry VIII. were desirous of making king of Provence, miscarried in the siege of Marseilles, which had been ordered by Charles V., that he might be master of a seaport in France. Pescara commanded the army, but all operations were to be directed by the counsels of Bourbon. Perhaps their mutual disgust and rivalship prevented the success of the enterprise.

New faults
committed
by
Francis.

The confidence of Francis I. seemed to increase with his dangers, and his faults with his confidence. He flew into Italy, again entered the Milanese, and, without difficulty, retook the capital. But the imprudent Bonnivet was the only person listened to. The siege of Pavia was carried on with obstinacy; and a considerable detachment was sent against the kingdom of Naples. The enemy advanced; and Francis being ashamed to retreat, it was resolved to venture a battle, though there was no possibility of conquering. Accordingly he was attacked, wounded, taken prisoner, and his army cut in pieces. Bourbon, who had a little before raised twelve thousand Germans, for the emperor could not pay them, his authority not being sufficiently absolute to levy new taxes, enjoyed the gloomy pleasure of revenge. Bonnivet, the cause of the disaster, had rushed upon his death in the engagement. Francis I. said, in a letter to the duchess of Angoulême, his mother, *Every thing is lost, except our honour.* Is the honour of a king, then, confined to fighting a battle?

1528.
Battle
of
Pavia.

His
inexcusable
temerity.

His temerity will appear still more inexcusable, if we consider the circumstances. The treasury was entirely exhausted, and he had even been obliged to sell a grate of massy silver, with which Louis XI. had enriched the tomb of St Martin. It was a great deal to defend the kingdom ; carrying the war abroad was exposing it more to an attack ; and the loss of a battle might be attended with dreadful consequences. On the other hand, the enemy being likewise in want of money, must naturally be weakened and disgusted, and their league dissolve of itself. Several states beheld the enormous power of the emperor with uneasiness. Wolsey, in particular, was certainly desirous of a change, having now been twice duped by his promises, as Adrian was succeeded by Clement VII. of the house of Medici. The king, therefore, ought to have stood on the defensive, and negociated, instead of indulging airy visions of glory and conquest. On the contrary, he had in a manner precipitated himself into misfortune ; and, had it not been for the resolution, dexterity, and prudent measures of his mother, who was become regent, the state must naturally have sunk under its enemies ; but she took every precaution, and entered into negociations in order to divide the confederates.

Nor was it long before they discovered their sentiments with regard to Charles V. Clement VII., the Venetians, and the duke of Milan, entered into a league to deprive him of Naples, which they destined for the marquis of Pescara. This general entered into the plot, after it had been determined by some casuists, that a sub-

League
against
the
emperor.

ject might take arms against his prince, when commanded by the lord paramount of whom the kingdom was held ; but, whether from inconstancy, remorse, or despair of success, he revealed the whole project to the emperor, upon which Sforza was declared a rebel, and, as such, deprived of the Milanese.

Alliance
with
England
broken.

In the course of these intrigues, the alliance with England was broken. Charles, elated with his success, hurt Henry's vanity, by discontinuing to write to him with his own hand, and subscribe himself, *Your affectionate son and cousin* ; nor had Wolsey his personal revenge less at heart. The court of London was determined, by petty motives, to measures which sound policy would at first have dictated ; and took into her hands the balance, which her caprice had given up to chance.

CHAPTER II.

TREATY OF MADRID NOT EXECUTED. TREATY OF CAMBRAI. DIVORCE OF HENRY VIII., AND SCHISM OF ENGLAND.

CHARLES, notwithstanding his victory at Pavia, did not invade France. He put on an hypocritical air of modesty, and yet wanted to prescribe intolerable conditions to the captive king. He demanded the duchy of Burgundy for himself; Provence and Dauphiné, with the title of king, for the duke of Bourbon; the provinces formerly recovered from the English for Henry VIII.; and, in the last place, a full renunciation of the claims upon Italy. But Francis replied, that he would sooner die in prison than dismember his kingdom; and that, besides, even if he was mean-spirited enough to make such an agreement, it would never be consented to by his subjects. But, tired with a severe confinement, where his vexation had thrown him into a mortal disease, he bowed his haughty spirit and his conscience to the circumstances, persuading himself that forced promises were not binding, or at least, that he could elude their performance. He engaged, by the treaty of Madrid, in 1526, to cede the duchy of Burgundy, and to put himself again into the hands of the emperor, if it was not de-

Conditions
prescribed
by
Charles V.
to
Francis I.

livered up in six weeks ; for the performance of which the king's two eldest sons were given in hostage.

Treaty
of Madrid
not
executed.

Scarce was he at liberty, when he formed a league with the pope, the king of England, and the Venetians, to maintain the liberty of Italy, and secure the possession of the Milanese to that very Francisco Sforza, whom he had attempted to drive out. The pope absolved him from his oaths, and not a single article of the treaty of Madrid was executed. The states of Burgundy, in concert with the court, declared that the king could not alienate his domain, and that their province should not be transferred to a foreign power. Francis I. refused to return into Spain, complaining of his enemy's unjust treatment, and offered to ransom his children ; but he burned with desire to avenge his injuries, and repair his misfortunes. Thus the emperor had at once the mortification of failing in his politics, and showing a want of generosity.

1527.
Bourbon
lays siege
to
Rome.

His general, the duke of Bourbon, to whom he had promised the investiture of the Milanese, not being able to complete that conquest for want of money, and seeing a spirit of mutiny prevail among his soldiers, who were unprovided of every thing, led them to Rome, in order to seize the treasures of the pope. Clement VII., a man of an irresolute and timid character, had negotiated, and was in no expectation of a siege ; he could therefore only have recourse to his spiritual arms, and excommunicated the general and his army, calling the Spaniards Moors, and the Germans Lutherans ; but, in defiance of the anathema, Bourbon gave

an assault, and, though he was slain, the imperialists made themselves masters of the city, where they committed dreadful excesses. Not content with pillage, massacre, and rape, they turned the head of the church and the cardinals into derision, by a kind of profane masquerade, and proclaimed Martin Luther pope. The emperor exhibited another farce in Spain. Upon receiving news of the pope's captivity, instead of sending orders to set him at liberty, he commanded processions for his deliverance, and afterwards obliged him to pay a ransom. To what purpose is it to play the hypocrite, when the only thing to be gained is the reputation of dishonesty?

As Charles V. showed himself obstinately bent on enforcing the treaty of Madrid, war was declared against him by the king of France and Henry VIII. The lie and the challenges given and returned between that prince and Francis I. were indecent bravadoes. The duel was not fought; but this example no less promoted the false point of honour, and single combats became more frequent than in the ages of barbarism. Mean time Italy was a prey to the ravages of war. The French had at first the advantage, and Pavia was sacked with the utmost cruelty, in memory of the battle which had been lost before it.

Andrew Doria, a Genoese of distinction, did the French good service with the gallies of his republic; but, during the siege of Naples, being discontented with the court, he suddenly went over to the emperor, and fortune changed with him; the old mistakes were repeated, the army was destroyed by disease, and the siege

Challenges
and the
lie
mutually
given
by
two great
monarchs.

Fatal
desertion
of
Andrew
Doria.

was raised. This expedition, as well as so many others, was attended with no other fruit than the spilling of human blood. Doria restored the liberty of his country, of which he might have been sovereign, after the expulsion of the French ; but he contented himself with the authority given him by his merit. Almost no alteration was made in the ancient government, though it stood greatly in need of reformation.

1529.
Treaty
of
Cambrai.

At least the course of these numerous calamities was suspended by the treaty of Cambrai, concluded for the two monarchs by two women, the duchess of Angoulême, and Margaret of Austria, governess of the Low Countries. Francis I. abandoned his allies, gave up his claim on Milan, his lordship of Artois and Flanders, and engaged to pay two millions of gold crowns for the ransom of his children ; Charles V., besides these advantages, reserving to himself the power of prosecuting at law his pretensions to Burgundy. Sforza had the Milanese ; and, by an article of a treaty before concluded between the pope and the emperor, the Medici were to be re-instated in the government of Florence. The Florentines had again established a republic ; but, in 1530, were constrained, by an imperial army, to acknowledge Alexander Medici for their sovereign.

Henry VIII.
takes
measures
for
a divorce.

The state to which France was then reduced, made it impossible to pay the two millions of gold crowns without the assistance of England, and Henry VIII. advanced a sum of money. Having formed a resolution to divorce his wife, Catharine of Arragon, the emperor's aunt, he foresaw the storms to which that step would ex-

pose him, and entered into a strict union with a power, of whose assistance he would soon stand in need. Catharine was the widow of Arthur, Henry's brother, who died six months after the marriage, even without having consummated it, if we may believe public report ; and Henry VII., being desirous of preserving to the kingdom the advantages of so great an alliance, had obtained from Julius II. a dispensation for the marriage of the princess with young Henry. They had been united twenty years ; and the birth of several children, none of whom survived except Mary, apparent heiress of the crown, made the queen the more respectable, as she was eminent for virtue and sweetness of temper. But Henry was in love with another woman, and had no government of his passions.

Anne Boleyn, daughter of a private gentleman, handsome, amiable, and abounding with wit, had captivated his savage heart, and irritated his desires by her resistance. The violence of his passion persuaded him that his marriage was null ; and his oracle, St Thomas d'Aquinias, for he piqued himself on his skill in theology, furnished him with proofs. From that time he employed every method to break a sacred tie, which prevented him from pursuing his inclination. Pope Clement VII. being at war with the emperor, for some time appeared favourable to Henry's views. Wolsey was to judge this affair in quality of legate ; and the bull of divorce was entirely ready, when a change in Clement's situation made him alter his system. The credit of Charles V. carried every thing before it ; and, after

His
passion for
Anne
Boleyn.

some affected delays, the pope removed the cause to Rome.

*Disgrace
of
Wolsey.
The
theologians
approve
the divorce.*

Henry, enraged, impatient, but not yet daring to break through the obstacles, revenged himself on Wolsey, whom he suspected of having thwarted his design ; dismissed that powerful minister, and afterwards solicited the opinions of the divines against the marriage which he wanted to dissolve. The universities of England, France, and Italy, determined that no dispensation could authorize the marriage of a brother with his brother's widow, because it is expressly forbidden by the law of God in Leviticus. But it is ordained in Deuteronomy, when the first husband dies without children. Doctors too often founded their decisions upon one of several contradictory authorities. Henry believed what he wanted to believe ; and his conscience, or rather his passion, made him look upon the divorce as a duty that would admit no delay. He refused to appear at Rome, to which he was cited by Clement VII., divorced Catharine, and married Anne Boleyn, by whom he soon after had the celebrated Elizabeth.

*Innovation
in
religion.*

The clergy had already been forced to acknowledge him *protector and head of the church of England* ; and the parliament, which he always directed at his pleasure, had retrenched a great part of the money paid to the pope. Yet the king, as strongly attached to his theological principles as to the object of his love, was startled at the very thoughts of breaking with the church of Rome. He had written against Luther, by whose contempt for Aquinas he had been particularly exasperated ; and

Luther had replied by a refutation filled with scurrilities, which he carried so far as to say, that the king was *more foolish than folly itself*, &c. As much as Henry was shocked with this insolence, so much was his vanity flattered by the title of *Defender of the Faith*, which he had received from Leo X. He abhorred the name of heretic, was ambitious of that of a zealous Catholic, and at last consented to abide by the sentence of the consistory, provided the imperialists were not admitted among the number of his judges. Had Rome acted with prudence, she would have triumphed over this haughty prince ; but the Roman policy still trusted to the old prejudices.

Irreparable mischief was done by too much precipitation. The courier who was to bring Henry's positive answer not arriving on the day appointed, the pope confirmed the validity of his first marriage, and excommunicated him, if he did not take back his wife. Two days after, the courier presented his letter ; but the court of Rome persisted in their decision ; there was then no remedy, and the schism was immediately completed. The king, according to the usual form, appealed to a general council. The clergy declared that the bishop of Rome had no authority in the kingdom, and the parliament granted to the sovereign the title of supreme head of the church. In this quality Henry VIII. abolished the monasteries, seized their revenues, established a system of faith, and persecuted at the same time the Catholics, who continued faithful in their obedience to the pope, and the heretics infected with

1534.
The schism produced
by the precipitation
of the pope.

Lutheranism, disposing every thing according to his own opinions and caprice.

*Progress
of
the Turks
under
Soliman II.
Taking
of
Rhodes.*

Charles V., affronted in the person of his aunt, found himself surrounded with a thousand other embarrassments and vexations. The Turks and Lutherans gave him equal uneasiness. On one side, Soliman II., son of Selim I., still more formidable than his father, had taken Belgrade in 1521, and afterwards Rhodes, from whence the knights of St John of Jerusalem had removed to Malta, and which was given them by the emperor. The same conqueror had seized a great part of Hungary in 1526. Louis, king of Hungary and Bohemia, had been killed at the battle of Mohacz against the Turks ; and the archduke Ferdinand, heir to these two kingdoms in right of his wife, had a competitor, who, having put himself under the protection of the Ottoman Porte, procured it an opportunity of making further conquests. This power became every day more formidable by its own strength, as well as by the divisions among Christians. Soliman laid siege to Vienna in 1529 ; but the winter obliged him to retire, after the loss of about sixty thousand men.

*Progress
of the
sects hostile
to
the church
of
Rome.*

On the other side, the progress of the sects, who were enemies to the Romish church, kept the emperor in suspense. Though religion did not seem to have much influence on his conduct, which was always directed by ambition and self-interest, he showed himself a defender of the Catholic faith ; and it is conjectured, that he hoped by this means to make himself absolute master of Germany. Let us take a

short view of the principal transactions respecting the Reformation, the progress of which it is of importance to trace, because it has produced one of the greatest revolutions in Europe. If the doctrine of the church unhappily became the sport of the politics of princes, as of the passions or prejudices of so many private persons, let us not lose sight of the original cause of this misfortune; let us deplore the abuses which have obscured the truth itself, and learn how essential it is to support religion by the practice of virtue and wisdom.

CHAPTER III.

AFFAIRS OF LUTHERANISM FROM THE TIME OF THE DIET OF WORMS. THE TURKS DEFEATED BY CHARLES V.

Luther appears before the diet of Worms.

IN 1521, the diet of Worms, after establishing a council of regency during the emperor's absence, summoned before them Luther, who had been already excommunicated by Leo X. Having received a safe conduct, he appeared without hesitation, and loudly refused to retract till his errors were demonstrated to him. Had the council of some ecclesiastics prevailed, this innovator would have undergone the same fate as John Huss; but, though he was suffered to depart, a severe sentence was published a few days after, ordering him to be seized as soon as his safe conduct expired. This blow was prevented by the elector of Saxony, who ordered him to be seized in a forest, and shut up in a castle, where he continued nine months, without its being known where he was. In this retirement he began a translation of the Holy Scriptures; with which few works have been of equal utility to the sectaries, as, by giving the sacred text a sense favourable to

their own system, they from thence drew arguments which the people of that age had not knowledge enough solidly to refute.

As the sentence of Worms was not executed, and Lutheranism daily made greater progress, Adrian VI., a man of rigid morals, and inflexible in his theological principles, addressed a brief to the diet of Nuremberg in 1524, by which he recommended the greatest extremities against Luther. What is very remarkable, this pope at the same time acknowledged, that the evil originated from the corruption of the Romish court, promised to remedy the abuses, and even consulted the diet on the most proper means for the extirpation of heresy ; but the zeal of the Germans did not, on this occasion, correspond with Adrian's views.

They represented, that it was impossible to take violent measures against Luther, considering the number of his followers, and proposed a general council as the most efficacious and necessary remedy ; at the same time sending a list of a hundred grievances against the court of Rome, containing all the enormities with which she had been so often reproached ; her exactions, usurpations, injustice, and scandals of every species ; concluding, that if these were not speedily redressed by the Holy See, they would use their own authority to free themselves from such intolerable burdens. The acknowledgments of the pope, and the hundred grievances of the diet, were matter of triumph to Lutheranism ; and had Charles V. declared in its favour, all Germany would probably soon have changed its religion.

Adrian VI.
exhorts
the people
to
prosecute
him.

1524.
Remarkable
conduct
of
the diet
of
Nuremberg.

Luther
marries
Catharine
Bore.

The marriage of Luther with Catharine Bore, a nun whom he had taken out of a cloister, excited new clamours against him, and appeared indecent even to his friends, though conformable to the principles of his sect. This example was imitated by great numbers, which gave occasion to the jest of Erasmus, *People are wrong in saying that Lutheranism has something tragical in it. For my part, I think it has more of the comic, for it always ends in a marriage.* Luther, though sensible to reproaches, yet was unshaken in his designs, and continued to write, preach, increase the number of his followers, and repel the shafts of his adversaries, his courage being whetted by the distinguished part he played in the world.

Progress
of the
Reformation

The war between the emperor and Clement VII. necessarily favoured the Reformation. All that Charles required of the diet of Spire in 1526, was to wait patiently for the meeting of a general council, without giving encouragement to novelties. Yet the diet saw the Lutheran priests of the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel publicly preach their doctrine, and administer the sacraments according to their rites. The Lutherans were still more emboldened by an angry manifesto which the emperor published against the pope. More than a third part of Germany had already shaken off the Romish yoke, and the Catholics, influenced by example and argument, lost much of that profound veneration for the Holy See, which was so well calculated to maintain its doctrines in the midst of the greatest abuses.

Even after the emperor had come to an accommodation with the pope, all that he thought he could demand at the second diet of Spire, in 1529, was a prohibition of making any more innovations till the meeting of a general council, especially with regard to the mass, which was already abolished in several states. However moderate the decree of the diet in that matter might have appeared, a protest was entered by the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, with some other princes, and fourteen imperial or free cities. Hence is derived the name of *Protestants*, which became common to all of the new religion.

Diet of Spire occasions the name of Protestants. 1529.

The following year, Charles V. assisted in person at the diet of Augsburg, where the Protestants presented their confession of faith, which was drawn up by Melancthon, the most moderate of Luther's disciples. It underwent an examination, and the theologians disputed, according to custom, without any other advantage than making each party more obstinate in their own opinion. By a severe decree, several articles of the Lutheran doctrine were condemned, those who taught them forbidden to be tolerated, and an exact observation of the ancient ceremonies enjoined; with a promise of soliciting the pope to call a general council in six months, where the disputes should be determined. But what appearance was there that the two parties would ever submit to the judgment of that council?

Confession of Augsburg.

The Protestants being now no longer in doubt that their ruin was designed, assembled at Smalkald, and formed a league for their own defence; to which Francis I. soon after pri-

League of Smalkald.

Ferdinand elected king of the Romans.

vately acceded. Henry VIII., too much employed with the affair of his divorce, gave only vague hopes. Charles had, a short time before, caused his brother Ferdinand to be elected king of the Romans, under pretence that, in his absence, the empire stood in need of a powerful chief, to make head against the Turks. The house of Austria evidently threatened the liberty of Germany.

Liberty of conscience granted on account of the Turks.

But the circumstances did not permit the emperor to reduce a party formidable in itself, and animated by the enthusiasm of a religious zeal. He saw Soliman ready to pour into Hungary with all his forces, in order to revenge the affront which his arms had met with the preceding year, before Vienna; and perceived the necessity of opposing to him the body of the empire. Being apprehensive lest the Lutherans, if provoked, should forget the general interest of Christendom, policy pulled off the mask of zeal; and, by a treaty concluded with the Protestants at Nuremberg, which was ratified at Ratisbon in 1531, Charles granted them liberty of conscience till a council should be held; at the same time annulling all the sentences passed against them by the Imperial chamber; upon which they engaged to give him powerful assistance against the Turks.

1532.
Provides him an advantage over Soliman.

In fact, the Imperial army was the strongest that had ever been seen, and the emperor, who had not yet appeared at the head of his troops, a thing surprising in an age of heroism, on this occasion took the command. He had the glory of disconcerting the projects of a formidable enemy, whose forces are said to have amounted to three hundred thousand men.

Soliman retired without any memorable action happening in the course of the campaign. Such was the fruit of a concord unhappily too easy to be broken, which ought to have been strengthened from regard to the public weal, but which was soon to be destroyed by other motives.

This expedition was followed by another more glorious. The celebrated Barbarossa, from being at first only a common corsair, had seized Algiers, and, in order to preserve it, put himself under the protection of Soliman, whose admiral he became; after which he, by treachery and violence, dethroned Muley Hassen, king of Tunis. The latter, finding no succour in Africa, implored that of Charles V., who eagerly seized the opportunity of signalizing himself, in hopes of putting an end to the terror with which Barbarossa filled Spain and Italy. Accordingly, the emperor went on board of a fleet, consisting of near five hundred sail, with an army of about thirty thousand men, stormed Goletta, a strong town on the seacoast, defended by three hundred pieces of cannon, and on his way to Tunis met Barbarossa advancing at the head of fifty thousand men, and defeated him in a pitched battle. During the action, ten thousand Christian slaves, who were confined in the castle, broke their fetters, and seized that fortress. The inhabitants of Tunis being in no condition to defend themselves, sent their keys to the victor; when, without waiting for the orders of Charles, who was deliberating in what manner he should treat the vanquished, the enraged soldiery rushed to the pillage, spread over the whole town,

Barbarossa,
usurper of
Tunis.
Defeated
by
Charles V.
1585.

committed the most horrible acts of violence, and massacred more than thirty thousand persons.

<sup>Treaty
with Muley
Hassen.</sup> Muley Hassen was restored, on condition of acknowledging himself a vassal of the court of Spain, giving up all the forfeited harbours, and paying twelve thousand crowns annually for maintaining a garrison in Goletta. Barbarossa had retired to Bone, the ancient Hippo, where it is said that Doria could have forced him, but would not, that he might make his own services always necessary to the emperor. We shall find this haughty Mussulman take advantage of the disorders that prevailed among the Christians, and again make them tremble.

<sup>Fruitless
negociations
of
Francis I.</sup> While the emperor, intoxicated with his good fortune, was pompously triumphing, and displaying his grandeur in Italy, the king of France gave himself up to the sentiments of hatred, revenge, and ambition, which had already produced so many destructive events. From the humiliating treaty of Cambray, he meditated new projects of war, and used every effort to stir up all the powers of Europe; but his measures did not succeed. Clement VII., whom he had gained by a marriage between the duke of Orleans, afterwards Henry II., and Catharine Medici, the pope's niece, died before he fulfilled his promises. Henry VIII., embarrassed with the consequences of his divorce, would not engage in a hazardous enterprise; and the league of Smalkald, irritated by the king's conduct to the French Protestants, refused him the least assistance.

<sup>Affected seal
against
the</sup> This prince had a little before acted with a violence calculated to stir up the professors of

the new religion against him. Some fanatics having posted up libels against the clergy and the eucharist, he ordered a solemn procession, in order to wipe out the scandal, and assisted at it himself with a torch in his hand, his children carrying the canopy ; after which he pronounced a vehement speech before the bishop of Paris, in which he said, *that if one of his limbs was infected with heresy, he would cut it off and would sacrifice his own son, if he found him guilty of that crime.* To conclude the scene, six Lutherans were burnt alive in the most cruel manner, being alternately let down and drawn up from the flames by help of a machine, until they expired.

Yet Francis had invited Melancthon to come and give him advice on the method of reconciling the parties. He had professed to the confederate Germans a singular moderation on the controverted points. Nor was he ignorant that the new opinions were relished and favoured by his sister Margaret, queen of Navarre ; but the ferment in men's minds was undoubtedly so great, that he thought it impossible to be allayed, except by those appearances of zeal, the effects of which he did not sufficiently foresee.

Though deprived of the assistance of his allies, he attempted to make himself master of the Milanese, under pretence of an insult offered him by Sforza, in the person of one of his ministers. He began with seizing the states of Charles duke of Savoy, whom he had reason to be offended with and to distrust ; of which circumstance Geneva took advantage, to make itself entirely independent. In the mean

professors of
the new
religion.

He
endeavours
to
reconcile
the
differences
of
opinion.

Resumes
his
designs on
the
Milanese.

time, Francesco Sforza dying without children, the emperor seized the Milanese ; but the king pretending that his rights to that duchy had now reverted to him, a negociation was set on foot, which Charles V. artfully spun out to a great length, promising the investiture sometimes to his second, sometimes to his youngest son ; and thus amused his rival, who was formerly so impetuous, while he took measures to crush him by the weight of his arms. At last, on his arrival at Rome, he poured forth an invective against him, in full consistory, with equal indecency, animosity, and bitterness. Yet, even after this insult, Francis continued to negotiate, while the storm was ready to break upon his head.

CHAPTER IV.

**INVASION OF FRANCE BY CHARLES V. ALLIANCE OF
FRANCIS I. WITH THE TURKS. TRUCE OF NICE.
REVOLT OF THE INHABITANTS OF GHENT.**

If misfortune had rendered the king of France too cautious, prosperity had inspired Charles with a haughty presumption, which made him look upon every chimerical vision of pride as well founded. He therefore thought himself sufficiently powerful to make an easy conquest of France, and some strange high-sounding prophecies were everywhere spread, which perhaps his vanity prompted him to believe, or which he was pleased with seeing swallowed by the credulity of the vulgar. Contrary to the advice of his best generals, he marched into Piedmont at the head of an army of fifty thousand men, taking advantage of the treachery of the marquis de Saluzzo, who, though loaded with favours by Francis, was ungrateful enough to give his enemy a passage into his kingdom ; and Provence was immediately overspread by the imperialists.

1536.
Charles V.
attempts
the conquest
of
France.

Happily Anne de Montmorency, marechal, and afterwards constable of France, had concerted with the king the proper measures for

Provence
invaded and
delivered.

defending the country, without running **any** risk. Sacrificing the interest of individuals to the general good, he had ravaged the whole country, abandoned all the towns except Arles and Marseilles, into which he had thrown strong garrisons, and entrenched himself near Avignon, in a camp which the enemy was not able to force. The vivacity of the French made them murmur at a conduct so opposite to the national genius ; but Charles V. felt, by experience, the prudence of these measures. His troops soon mouldered away by want and disease ; he could neither lay siege to Arles nor Marseilles, attack Montmorency, nor bring him to a battle. He was therefore obliged to make a precipitate retreat ; and, to complete his misfortunes, part of his troops was massacred by the peasantry of Provence.

Fruitless invasion
of Picardy.

An invasion made by the Flemings into Picardy was equally inglorious ; and they were obliged to raise the siege of Peronne. Never was there given a more manifest proof of the resources which France can command in a defensive war. Why then lavish in foreign countries the blood of a nation, the subjects and sovereigns of which may find happiness at home ?

The emperor summoned before the parliament.

These two illustrious rivals had, from the first rise of their quarrels, frequently been hurried into bravadoes and reproachful language, disgraceful of their majesty ; and the hatred of Francis was, on this occasion, again signalized in an indecent manner. He assembled the parliament, in order to pass a sentence against the emperor ; when it was alleged that *Charles of Austria*, having broken the treaty of Cambray,

which consequently no longer subsisted, ought to be reckoned a vassal of the king for the counties of Artois and Flanders, was guilty of felony, and ought to abide the judgment of the court of peers, to which he was accordingly summoned ; and on the expiration of the legal term, the two fiefs were confiscated by an arrêt.

Before this vain insult, suspicions of the most injurious nature had been raised against him with regard to the dauphin's death. Montecuculi, an Italian gentleman, the young prince's cup-bearer, being put to the torture, acknowledged himself guilty of the poisoning, and accused two generals in the service of the emperor, who was likewise charged indirectly with being an accomplice in the crime. But a confession extorted by the rack is too liable to suspicion. The dauphin's death was probably natural ; besides, Charles had no interest in committing so atrocious a crime, as there yet survived two sons of Francis. Catharine Medici, wife to the duke of Orleans, an ambitious and unprincipled woman, seemed a more proper object of suspicion, because she became dauphiness. Charles insinuated this ; and his conjecture appeared not altogether groundless, considering the character of that princess, with which the reader will be acquainted in the sequel.

In order to support a war against an enemy who was always to be dreaded, the king of France made an alliance with Soliman, and by that step exposed himself to new invectives. Such treaties were still looked upon as dishonourable to the Christian name. Nations were

Suspected
of
the death
of
the dauphin.

Alliance
of
Francis I
with
the Turks.

not ashamed of persisting, with inveterate malice, to attempt the ruin of each other ; yet they were ashamed of uniting with the Turks, even when they stood in need of aid ! What insuperable barriers are raised between man and man by religious hatred ! The Turks were to attack Hungary and the kingdom of Naples, while a French army invaded the Milanese. Barbarossa landed near Tarento, and filled the whole country with terror ; but the French did not appear, because the king could not take his measures with sufficient quickness. This obstruction made a project *mis-carry*, which undoubtedly would have changed the face of affairs ; and, on the approach of a fleet commanded by Doria, the Turk prudently withdrew.

1598.
Interview
and
truce at
Nice.

Paul III., Farnese, a pontiff of advanced age, being desirous of giving peace to Europe, and at the same time of procuring the agrandissement of his own family, at last proposed an interview at Nice between the two monarchs, to put an end to the war. At that place they concluded a truce for ten years, by the mediation of the pope, who carried their proposals and answers between them, as they would neither see nor speak to each other. It was agreed that things should remain in the situation they then were, till the conclusion of a peace. After this, the two rivals saw one another at Aigues-mortes, with all the marks of perfect cordiality. These perpetual contrasts of behaviour can only be accounted for by the manners of chivalry, though at bottom the ancient frankness subsisted almost only in appearance.

The pope succeeded in his purpose by obtaining for his nephew, Octavio Farnese, the hand of Margaret of Austria, the emperor's natural daughter, and widow of Alexander Medici. Lorenzo Medici, the cousin and intimate friend of Alexander, had assassinated him by the blackest treachery ; but that murderer could not enjoy the fruits of his crime ; the emperor putting Cosmo II., son of Alexander, in possession of Florence.

Marriage
of Octavio
Farnese.
Alexander
Medici
assassinated.

A striking proof of the inconveniences which war brings even on the greatest potentates is, that the resources of Charles V. were exhausted ; that he owed considerable arrears to his troops ; and that they mutinied everywhere, from his inability to pay them. He therefore assembled at Toledo the *Cortes*, or states-general of Castile, laid before them his wants, and demanded subsidies. The Spaniards had frequently murmured at the imposition of new taxes for a war in which they were not interested. The nobility, though exempt from taxes by their privileges, were transported with rage, made loud complaints, and refused to grant any supply ; upon which Charles dissolved the cortes with indignation, declared the nobles and prelates for ever excluded from a seat in them, because men who paid no taxes had no right to a voice in the national assemblies.

1539.
Charles
cannot
obtain
money from
the
cortes.

We may judge of the power and haughtiness of the Spanish grandees by a singular circumstance, of which the town of Toledo was at that time witness. The emperor was coming from a tournament, attended by his court,

Power
of
the Spanish
grandees.

when one of the officers, whose business it is to make way before him, having struck the duke d'Infantado's horse with his rod, the duke immediately drew his sword and wounded the officer ; upon which Charles ordered the grand provost to arrest the nobleman on the spot ; but the constable of Castile came up, obliged the provost to retire, claimed his own right to judge a grandee, and took the duke to his own house, whither he was accompanied by all the nobility, who applauded his spirit, only a single cardinal remaining with the king. Charles was prudent enough to dissemble ; for severity could only have increased the evil, and sown the seeds of rebellion. Next day, he sent to Infantado an offer of punishing the officer in any manner he should prescribe ; but the duke, satisfied with that reparation, far from making any further demand, gave the man a considerable present, and the grandees returned to court.

Revolt
of the
inhabitants
of
Ghent.

The people of Ghent raised a more violent disturbance on account of a tax which they thought an infringement of their privileges. Being condemned by the council of Malines, they offered Francis I. to acknowledge him for their sovereign, to put their city into his hands, and to assist him in the conquest of Flanders and Artois. The situation, trade, and opulence of that country certainly would have made it an acquisition as valuable as it seemed easy ; but the monarch's whole views were centered in Milan, of which he always hoped for the investiture ; and, not content with rejecting the flattering offer of the people of Ghent,

discovered the whole negociation to the emperor.

Charles, who was perfectly acquainted with his character, asked permission to pass through his kingdom, on his way to subdue the rebels, engaging to grant him the investiture of Milan, so eagerly desired, and so often promised in vain. Such a step had the appearance of foolish temerity, and was unanimously disapproved by the council of Spain ; but it was justified by the event. The emperor's designs were favoured by the French king's ideas of honour, which bordered on the romantic ; he therefore obtained his whole request. He crossed the dominions of his rival with a train of a hundred attendants, being everywhere received with great pomp ; staid seven days at Paris, where he was loaded with marks of friendship and confidence ; and set out without even leaving any authentic testimony of his promises.

The inhabitants of Ghent, struck with consternation, opened their gates to him, and he entered that, his native city, on his birth-day, according to his own expression, *as their sovereign and their judge, with the sceptre and the sword.* Twenty-six of the principal citizens were put to death, a greater number banished, the town deprived of its privileges, and fined in a large sum for the building of a citadel, to keep it under the yoke.

Francis was soon taught by the event what his own foresight ought to have dictated to him. Charles V. eluded, and even denied his promises ; and bestowed the Milanese on his son,

Charles obtains a passage through France.

1540.
He reduces and punishes Ghent.

Breaks his word with the king.

Philip II. The duplicity of the one is less surprising than the credulity of the other. Thus were sown the seeds of a new war; and the people were again destined to fall victims to the passions of their sovereigns.

CHAPTER V.

GENERAL COUNCIL ASSEMBLED BY POPE PAUL III.
CONTINUANCE OF DISTURBANCES AND WARS. TREATY OF CREPI. TYRANNY OF HENRY VIII.

Fruitless endeavours were still used for finding a method to terminate the religious quarrels, which are more obstinate than any other. The project of a general council, which was perpetually renewed, gave unceasing disquiet to the court of Rome, which temporized according to its ordinary strain of policy; and, when it yielded to the importunities of the Catholics, it was with precautions entirely irreconcileable to the views of the Protestants, who demanded liberty and equality, and insisted on a council being held in Germany. Paul III. had convoked one at Mantua, and afterwards at Vicenza, but it had been productive of no good effect; and a show of reformation, ordered by the pope, was equally fruitless. *They amuse themselves with curing warts, said Luther, and neglect or foster ulcers.*

Instead of a council, the Protestants required of the emperor a conference of divines, to discuss the controverted points. This conference, notwithstanding the opposition of the pope, was held at the diet of Ratisbon, in 1541, where

conduct
of
Paul III.
with regard
to
religion.

Fruitless
conference
at
Ratisbon.

Charles himself presented a work, entitled *Concordia*, written with a moderation displeasing to both parties. However, several articles of speculative theology were agreed to ; but, as to the mode of worship, the jurisdiction, and every thing that regarded practice, the interests were too opposite, and the disputes too fierce, to admit any conciliation.

*Recess
condemned
by
the pope,
and
disagreeable
to the
Protestants.*

The emperor despairing to succeed in this scheme, prevailed upon the diet to publish a recess or edict, bearing, that the points agreed upon by the doctors should be inviolably observed ; that the others should be referred to the decision of a general council, or, in default of a council, to that of a national synod ; or, in case no synod was assembled, to the judgment of a diet, which should meet in the space of eighteen months ; and, in the mean time, no innovations should be made. This edict filled the pope with indignation, and he condemned it, because laymen erected themselves into judges of an ecclesiastical controversy. The Protestants likewise complained of the fetters it put upon their liberty. But Charles appeased their murmurs, by a particular declaration, favourable to their desires ; for motives of policy yet obliged him to keep fair with them.

*1541.
Ferdinand
loses part
of
Hungary.*

His brother Ferdinand had lost part of the kingdom of Hungary, to deprive him of which John Zapolli had drawn the arms of Soliman into that country, and become a tributary to the Porte. Zapolli dying, and leaving a son in the cradle, Ferdinand prepared to seize the inheritance of that infant ; but the bishop Mar-

tinuzzi *, who was joint-regent with the queen-mother, implored the assistance of the Turk ; and Ferdinand in vain attempted to prevent the success of the negociation, though he humbled himself so far as to make an offer of paying the tribute required by the Porte. The Turks marched against him, forced his army to raise the siege of Buda, and gained a decisive victory. But Soliman kept for himself the dominions of the young king, and sent him with his mother into Transilvania. The emperor received this news during the diet of Ratisbon, and it was the principal motive of the complaisance he showed to the Protestants.

Besides, he was meditating a grand expedition against Algiers, where he hoped to triumph as he had done at Tunis. The kingdom of Algiers was governed, in the absence of Barbarossa, by Hassan Aga, a native of Sardinia, a renegado, eunuch, and great captain, who by his piracies did incredible damage to Spain. Charles, being resolved to punish this corsair, obstinately bent on the execution of his purpose, shutting his eyes to the danger, and deaf to the remonstrances and entreaties of the celebrated Doria, embarked in autumn with his best troops, and appeared before Algiers on the twentieth of October ; but scarce had he landed, when a dreadful storm laid the country under water, while the army had neither tents, shelter, nor any succour. They passed the night in the mire, great part of the fleet was dashed in pieces, and the Algerines fell upon

Expedition
of
Charles
against
Algiers.

* This Martinuzzi, who was a cardinal, and a great statesman, was afterwards assassinated by order of Ferdinand.

the troops, whose strength was entirely exhausted, and scarce able to support the weight of their armour. The only means to save Charles from destruction was a quick retreat. Luckily, Doria, having weathered the storm, waited for him at Cape Metafuz, distant about three days march ; and at this place he arrived through a thousand dangers, which even followed him in his passage into Spain. This unfortunate expedition must have taught him the danger of rejecting prudent counsels ; but, if it humbled his haughty presumption, it procured him the glory of displaying his courage, constancy, generosity, and compassion ; virtues less distinguishable in the course of his prosperities. Perhaps he never appeared so great as in misfortune.

Francis I.
finds
new reasons
for
a war.
His
alliances.

Francis I., roused to revenge by the perfidy of his rival, was eager to break the truce agreed upon at Nice, when a subject of complaint was given him more worthy of making him fly to arms. Two ambassadors whom he had sent to negotiate, one at the Porte, the other at Venice, were assassinated on the road, by order of the marquis de Guasto, governor of Milan ; while Charles V. was preparing for his expedition against Algiers. As he received no reparation for this injury, he attempted to interest all the powers of Europe in his revenge ; but could only procure the alliance of Sweden, Denmark, which is the first instance of a confederacy with the North, and Soliman, with whom he renewed his treaty, notwithstanding the intrigues of Charles V.

Alienated
the
Protestants of Germany refused to join him, on account of the severity with which he

treated the Lutherans, in order, by an appearance of zeal, to efface, in some measure, the alleged crime of concluding an alliance with the Turk. He had taken too little care to sooth the violent temper of Henry VIII., whom he had even irritated by crossing the marriage of his son Edward with Mary, queen of Scotland, who was yet in her cradle; a marriage projected with a view to unite the two kingdoms. The emperor took advantage of the dispositions of the English monarch, and, forgetting the injury done to Catharine of Arragon, who was now dead, concluded a league offensive and defensive against France. He alleged religious pretexts against the ally of Soliman, while he himself made no scruple to enter into a confederacy with the greatest enemy of the Romish church.

1542.
Five
French
armies.

As soon as war was declared, Francis set five armies on foot. This is a proof of the advantage he reaped from the constitution of his monarchy, where the subsidies were larger, as well as more quickly levied, and the troops more easily raised, the royal authority being not confined within so narrow bounds. The first campaign did not correspond with these immense preparations. The duke of Orleans, who met with uninterrupted success in the Low Countries, imprudently abandoned his conquests to march into Rousillon, where his brother, the dauphin, was besieging Perpignan. He flattered himself, that he should share the honour of a victory, and he only partook in the disgrace of raising the siege.

The following year, Francis made himself master of Landreci, which Charles in vain at-

Siege
of
Nice.

tempted to retake ; but the count d'Enguier and Barbarossa miscarried at the siege of Nice. Europe was strangely scandalized at seeing the French and Turks united in this expedition ; but success would have silenced the clamours. Soliman succeeded better in Hungary, where he took several more towns.

1544.
Boldness
of the
German
Protestants.

The more Charles V. was embarrassed by the war, the more did the league of Smalkald increase in strength and courage. Its members had a little before entered a solemn protest against the imperial chamber, and required the dissolution of a court, against which they had reasons of complaint, at the same time refusing to contribute towards the defence of Hungary. It was of great importance to the emperor to prevent a total rupture with the Protestants, and, above all, to engage them to serve against France. By a dexterous compliance with the conjunctures, he obtained from them what he wished. The diet of Spire, at which he presided, suspended all the decrees contrary to liberty of conscience, and granted to the Protestants the public exercise of their religion, till the meeting of a general or national council, which was declared to be necessary ; upon which the Protestants, with the other members of the empire, declared themselves enemies of a king who was in alliance with the Turks.

Fruitless
victory of
the
French
at
Cerizoula.

France, though exposed to formidable invasions, again enjoyed the pleasure of a victory. The count d'Enguier, who besieged Carginana in Piedmont, had orders not to venture a battle ; but Guasto advancing to attack him, and the French burning with desire of

coming to an engagement, Montluc, a Gascon officer eminent for his abilities and courage, was despatched to the king, in order to obtain his permission ; and, with the eloquence of military enthusiasm, bore down the reasons of the council. Enguien gained a complete victory at Cerizoula, where the imperialists left above ten thousand men on the field, and the French lost only about two hundred. Unluckily, the kingdom was in danger, and the king recalling part of his troops, no advantage was reaped from this great victory.

Francis I. was threatened with almost inevitable destruction, if Charles V. and Henry VIII. had executed their plan in concert. It was projected, that they should, each at the head of a numerous army, penetrate into the heart of the kingdom without forming sieges, and join their forces near Paris. But the desire of taking places broke their measures. The emperor lost five weeks before St Dizier, which, though unprovided with every thing, was defended with wonderful resolution by the count de Sancerre, and they were even obliged to forge a permission from the king before he could be induced to surrender. Henry, on his side, laid siege to Boulogne and Montreuil. The season advanced. Champagne had been laid waste, as Provence was formerly, that the enemy might be destroyed by famine ; and, though Charles had made himself master of Chateau-Thierry, though terror was spread in the capital, he already dreaded the event of the expedition, and concluded a peace at Crepi near Meaux, without the consent of the king of England.

The
enemy
lose time
in
besieging
towns.

Treaty
of
Crapi.

This treaty bears, that the emperor should either give his eldest daughter in marriage to the duke of Orleans, with the Low Countries, or the second daughter of his brother Ferdinand, with the investiture of the Milanese ; that he should renounce his pretensions to Burgundy, and Francis I. give up his claims to Naples, Flanders, and Artois ; and that both should unite to make war against the Turks. By a secret article, they engaged to take the most efficacious measures for the meeting of a council, and the extirpation of heresy in their respective dominions. All the conquests made since the expiration of the truce of Nice were to be restored, and the duke of Savoy to be restored to his domains, except Pignerol and Montmilian, as soon as the duke of Orleans was put in possession of the territory destined for him.

Measures
for the war
disconcerted.

The duke of Orleans died before the consummation of the marriage ; and this unforeseen death was of the greatest advantage to Charles. Francis demanded some recompense ; but his proposals were rejected, though he could then have revived his ancient pretensions ; and being in a bad state of health, as well as weary of the war, he checked his just resentment.

Henry VIII.
makes
peace.

Henry VIII. continued hostilities without any memorable event, till the year 1546, when he concluded a peace, retaining possession of Boulogne, on condition of restoring it in eight years, for eight hundred thousand gold crowns. The war had cost him one million three hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling. Thus are princes ruined by ambitious enterprises, whence they flattered themselves with drawing great advantages. Henry had been in hopes

of conquering Normandy and Guienne, perhaps of even making himself master of the whole kingdom ; for in what chimeras did he not indulge his pride ?

Let us here stop a moment to reflect on the passions of that monarch, to which he was a slave, as he was a tyrant to his people ; and the vices, which hurried him from one excess to another, corrupted the excellent qualities which he inherited from nature. He had it in his power to be a great man, and he became a monster. He was soon disgusted with Anne Boleyn, whom he had set upon the throne instead of Catharine of Arragon ; another passion eclipsed those charms to which he had sacrificed every thing ; and the new queen quickly felt the effects of his barbarity, being condemned and executed upon bare suspicion. Next day the king was married to her rival Jean Seymour, and caused his marriage with Anne to be declared null. Jean dying in 1537, after having brought him a son, Prince Edward, he married Anne of Cleves, and almost immediately divorced her on frivolous pretences, which were, notwithstanding, approved by the clergy and the parliament. Catharine Howard afterwards received his hand, to pass from his bed to the scaffold. She had been engaged in some intrigues of gallantry in her youth, and was beheaded for that crime. Catharine Par, Henry's sixth wife, was on the point of undergoing the same fate, because, in a conversation, she seemed to differ from him on some points of theology. Sentence of death was passed ; but she was luckily informed of

That prince
a slave to
his passions ;
his six
marriages.

the danger, and disarmed the tyrant by her address and flattery.

Dictated absurd and sanguinary laws. The parliament, submissive, mean-spirited, without power, and destitute of honour, was only a vile instrument of tyranny. The absurd and sanguinary laws dictated by that prince met with no opposition. Accordingly, on the affair of the unfortunate Catharine Howard, it was declared, that a queen, passing for a virgin at the time of her marriage, when she was not, should be deemed guilty of a capital crime, if she did not herself undeceive the king ; and it was made felony in every person who suspected the queen of disorderly behaviour, not to lodge an information against her before the king or council. At the same time contradictory statutes were enacted, prohibiting all persons, under pain of incurring the guilt of high treason, from asserting, that the king's two first marriages were lawful, or saying any thing derogatory of the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, the children of those marriages, who were in consequence both declared bastards.

His tyrannical caprices with regard to religion. But it was principally in religious matters that Henry gave a loose to the capriciousness and atrocious cruelty of his disposition. The spiritual power, with which he had caused himself to be invested, was exercised by him in the double quality of theologian and despot, armed with the sword to establish his opinions. He punished, with the utmost rage, whoever dared to differ from him ; and he himself often changed his way of thinking, his creed depending upon the caprice of the moment. A violent enemy to the Romish church and its

head, he was equally immoderate in his zeal for the greatest part of the doctrines which it had established. The real presence, private masses, auricular confession, the celibacy of the clergy, the obligation to observe vows of chastity, were laws of the state, which it was a capital crime to infringe. The parliament enacted a statute for the observation of these points, which was deservedly called the *bloody statute*. But the greatest crime was to deny or call in question the king's supremacy, or, in a word, refuse to take the oath. It was this that brought the illustrious Thomas More to the block, as well as John Fisher, a prelate of uncommon merit. Reforming religion in this manner seems nearly the same with opening a door to fanaticism,

CHAPTER VI.

BEGINNING OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENTO. WAR AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS IN GERMANY. DEATH OF FRANCIS I. AND HENRY VIII.

The
Catholics
always
demanded
council.

ALL the projects for a general council, since the establishment of Lutheranism, had been unsuccessful. Though long experience had given reason to believe, that those great assemblies, in which human passions unavoidably mixed with the affairs of heaven, might define doctrines without terminating disputes, and that their wisest decrees did not cure inveterate wounds ; yet the Catholics saw no other method for putting a stop to the progress of heresy, or remedying the disorders of the church ; and their princes pressed the pope on this important subject, perhaps less from the hopes of its producing any real advantage, than a view of appearing zealous for the good cause.

Paul III.
assembles
the council
of
Trent.

Paul III., above all things, had at heart the securing of Parma and Placentia to his bastard Louis Farnese, and bore with impatience the emperor's refusal of his consent to so scandalous a dismemberment of the ecclesiastical territory. It was impossible that this selfish pon-

tiff could be really a reformer; yet he complied with the wishes of the Catholic world, as far as his private interest gave him leave, and summoned a council to meet at Trent in the year 1545. The emperor in vain used his utmost endeavours, at the diet of Worms, to prevail on the Protestants to submit to its decisions. Their answer was, that they would not even deign to attempt a defence of their doctrine in an assembly which was under the entire influence of the pope; that the pope could not be their judge, being justly liable to the charge of partiality, on account of the anathemas which he had published against them, and the assembling of a council solely with a view to their condemnation. Their reasons were specious, though weak; but their obstinacy was invincible.

The
Protestants
refuse to
submit to it.

They already suspected the intentions of Charles, who in fact was contriving their ruin; and, having no more the same political reasons to keep fair with them, had on several occasions betrayed his sentiments. The archbishop, elector of Cologne, being desirous of establishing Lutheranism, his canons entered an appeal to the pope and the emperor, which the latter received, and took them under his protection. During the diet of Worms, he silenced the Lutheran preachers, and suffered an Italian monk to declaim against them; but their party was formidable by its numbers, which were still increased by the accession of Frederic, Elector Palatine, and his subjects. Luther enjoyed this triumph a little before his death, which happened in 1546. Perhaps never man had met with successes so flattering to

The
Protestants
increase.

vanity, a passion of which he was susceptible, though he despised fortune. It must be acknowledged in his praise, that, notwithstanding the impetuosity of his temper, he always restrained his followers from beginning a civil war : But of what mischiefs has he not been the cause ?

1545.
Beginning
of the
council.

The council was already opened ; but that assembly, which was to represent the whole church, at first consisted of only forty bishops. They began with passing a resolution, that the regulation of the doctrines, and the work of reformation, should be carried on at the same time. But the pope insisted that the faith should be fixed in the first place ; and the emperor required that the reformation, the very thoughts of which startled the court of Rome, should be settled before the doctrines. Paul III. was the less inclined to second his views, as he had refused to confirm the investiture of Parma and Placentia in favour of that pontiff's son ; alleging, as a reason for his refusal, that these two duchies were fiefs of the empire, and consequently not at the disposal of the pope. Yet the house of Farnese kept possession of them till the extinction of the family.

Investiture
of
Parma.

First decrees
respecting
the
scripture
and
tradition.

The first decrees of the council were an open attack on the principles of Protestantism. The books formerly styled *apocryphal* were declared to be canonical ; it was determined that the tradition of the church was of equal authority with revelation ; the *vulgate* was made sacred, as an authentic translation. The pope complained that the assembly, while yet so thin, decided too quickly on objects of such importance. But whilst these decrees, which were

accompanied with anathemas, gave the Protestants warning of an entire condemnation ; he increased their animosity and uneasiness by publishing a bull of deposition against the archbishop of Cologne, as guilty of heresy, and absolving his subjects from their oath of allegiance ; which was sufficient proof that he and the emperor were in secret intelligence.

Charles had been long making preparations, though he dissembled his intentions. He now concluded a truce of five years with the Turk, entered into a league with the pope, and sowed or fomented divisions among the Lutheran princes, whose particular interests were scarcely prejudicial to the general advantage of their church ; but he principally affected not to attack their religion, because they would have been infallibly united by zeal for its defence. At last his crafty politics being betrayed by the rumours of war, and the march of the troops, he acknowledged, in the diet of Ratisbon, that he was arming ; and protested anew, that, without pretending to lay any restraint on the religion of the subjects of the empire, his sole object was to support the rights of the imperial dignity, and to chastise some factious members.

Yet his treaty with Paul III. bore, that they should unite their arms to repress the heretics in Germany, and oblige them to submit to the council of Trent, and the Holy See. By this treaty he bound himself to share with the pope the conquests he should gain from them ; and the pope granted him, for one year, half of the ecclesiastical revenues of Spain, together with the power of alienating a certain quantity

1546.
Charles V.
and
Paul III.
join
in a league
against
them.

Conditions
of
the treaty
contrary
to
his public
protests:
tions.

of lands belonging to the religious houses in that country. Thus did Charles V., after the example of Ferdinand the Catholic, make a mock of truth, and use the art of deceiving mankind, as an instrument for effecting his purposes.

The pope imprudently reveals the secret.

Sooner or later truth is discovered, and fraud unmasked. Paul himself betrayed this dark transaction. Proud of a league formed against the enemies of the Holy See, he published the articles of it in a bull, exhorting the faithful to concur in it, in order to gain indulgences. But the emperor was not disconcerted by this unlucky piece of indiscretion ; he not only persisted in his false declarations, but had address enough to persuade part of the Protestants that he was sincere.

Formidable array of the Protestants.

The major part perceived more clearly than ever what danger threatened their religion and the liberties of the empire ; and, being resolved to repel force by force, made vigorous preparations for a war. They solicited the Venetians, the Swiss, Henry VIII. and Francis I. to support them against a despotism, which, after having enslaved Germany, would extend itself over the rest of Europe. None of these negotiations succeeded ; but they could dispense with foreign assistance. In a few months they levied an army of more than fourscore thousand men, furnished with every necessary in abundance. The electors of Cologne and Brandenburg remained neuter, as did also the elector Palatine. Maurice of Saxony, margrave of Misnia, and the two princes of Brandenburg, though all Protestants, declared for the emperor. The elector of Saxony, the land-

Yet several
princes
had
separated
from
the league.

grave of Hesse, the duke of Wurtemberg, the princes of Anhalt, the cities of Augsburg, Ulm, and Strasburg, alone set this formidable armament on foot. Such numbers of military men could Germany furnish, and so violent were the flames of religious and political zeal in that small number of states.

Charles was at Ratisbon with very few troops, and, had the confederates immediately attacked him, they would doubtless have ended the war. But, whether out of respect to ancient customs, a dread of making themselves odious, or the slowness natural to the Germans, they composed a manifesto, instead of coming to action. This the emperor had the courage to answer, only by putting the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, who were at the head of the league, under the ban of the empire; a step which was the more bold, as it ought regularly to have been authorized by a diet. This sentence subjected them to the punishment of rebellion, and gave their dominions to whoever could seize them. They then sent a herald to declare war, and began the campaign.

Bold
and firm
behaviour
of the
emperor.

The pope's army and other succours had time to arrive. The emperor, who was encamped near Ingolstadt, prudently avoided a battle, and the enemy forbore to attack him, though they might have done it with advantage. Their two leaders were of entirely different characters, and equal in command; consequently the operations were badly carried on. Meantime nothing escaped the sagacity of the emperor; he foresaw that the union between the members of that vast body would soon be dissolved, and that, when once separated, they

He
foresees their
dissensions.

would lose their strength. Nor was this opinion disproved by the event.

Maurice of Saxony, a crafty and ambitious prince, regardless of religion and the ties of blood, for which he notwithstanding professed the warmest affection, having seized on the estates of his cousin the elector, under pretence of securing them from being invaded by a stranger, the confederates permitted that prince to lead his troops against the traitor ; and scarce had he left them, when they all separated. They then felt their weakness, and were seized with the strongest apprehensions. Charles did not let slip this favourable opportunity. He took the field in the middle of winter, and made himself master of some cities. Ulm submitted, and by her example drew after her almost all the members of the league. They were obliged to beg for mercy on their knees, and bear the insults of a haughty prince, who condemned them to pay severe fines, as if he had been already sure of fortune.

Saxony recovered by the elector. Meantime the elector of Saxony had recovered his dominions, and even deprived the treacherous Maurice of all Misnia, except Leipsic and Dresden. But the emperor proposed to crush him, as well as the landgrave of Hesse. However, this design was suspended by the conjunctures. Paul III. already repented of having contributed to the growth of a power that might one day make Italy its victim ; besides, he was offended that he received no share of the conquests nor of the contributions, and that the conqueror, far from manifesting his zeal for the faith, tolerated Lutheranism in his camp. He therefore withdrew his

troops, and by that means considerably weakened the imperial army.

At the same time, advice was received of the extraordinary conspiracy formed by Fiesco, a noble and opulent Genoese, who undertook to exterminate the Dorias, and make himself master of the republic. This plot, which was managed with equal address and resolution, miscarried only by accident ; Fiesco being drowned in the harbour, where he had just seized the fleet. Charles suspected that such an attempt would not have been made without the privity of the French and Roman courts, that a storm was somewhere brooding against him, and prudently stopped short in the middle of his exploits.

In fact, Francis I. seriously thought of restoring the balance which was necessary to prevent the oppression of all Europe. He negotiated with Soliman, the pope, the Venetians, the Protestants of Germany, and with England and Denmark. He increased his revenues, raised troops, and formed magazines. Experience had given him prudence, and he was no longer misled by his passions. Charles therefore must have had a great deal to fear ; but fortune, which was always so favourable to him, seemed again to serve his ambition. Francis died, at the age of fifty-two, of that shameful distemper which is brought on by debauchery, and which had been imported with the gold of America.

The fine qualities of this prince, his open temper, beneficence, honour, generosity, and courage, have not been able to cover his faults ; rashness in his enterprises, negligence in his af-

Conspiracy
of
Fiesco at
Genoa.

1557.
Francis I.
dies
while
preparing to
restore
the balance
of
power.

His
good and bad
qualities.

fairs, fickleness in his conduct, prodigality in his expenses, and excess in his pleasures. Whatever merit he was possessed of, he would have met with fewer encomiums, had he not caressed and favoured men of letters, by whose suffrages the reputation of sovereigns is fixed. He founded the royal college and printing-house. At the same time that he encouraged the culture of the learned languages, he had the prudence to command, that the public acts should be written in French. In the same manner he gave life to the fine arts, built Fontainebleau, and began the Louvre. In order to polish the manners of the court, he drew to it the most respectable women and distinguished prelates. But the women and prelates soon filled it with intrigues.

Barbarity
committed
in
Provence.

It was the cardinal de Tournon, a man unquestionably of greater zeal than humanity, who principally enforced the execution of a barbarous arret, issued by the parliament of Aix, which had been some years suspended by the court, and whose consequences were horrible.

That court had condemned to the flames, as heretics, all the masters of families of Merindol, at the same time giving orders to raze all the houses of that large market-town, and even to root up the trees of the neighbouring forests. As soon as the court had permitted the execution of this arret, two magistrates, more deserving the name of executioners, at the head of a body of troops, committed cruelties which certainly had not been foreseen. They massacred three thousand persons, without distinction of age or sex. The little town of

Cabrières and Merindol, with twenty-two towns or villages, fell a prey to the flames. An act of barbarity, so proper to bring an odium on the Catholics, may be looked upon as the signal for those atrocious wars which fanaticism afterwards lighted up in the kingdom.

Under this reign, Bretagne was reunited to the crown in 1532 ; the Bretons having been prevailed on to make it their own request.

Two months before the death of Francis I. happened that of Henry VIII. ; a despot in every thing, except the levying of subsidies. The suppression of the monasteries had procured him great riches, from which he reaped no advantage, their revenues being swallowed up by the courtiers. Charles V. blamed him for *having killed the hen which laid golden eggs* ; because in fact he had deprived himself of very high taxes which were formerly levied on the church and the monks. By his will the crown devolved to young prince Edward, son of Jean Seymour ; in default of that prince, to Mary, daughter of Catharine of Arragon ; and afterwards to Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn. All three reigned in succession.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GERMANIC LIBERTY OPPRESSED BY CHARLES V.
HENRY II. KING OF FRANCE. PROGRESS OF THE
COUNCIL OF TRENT.

Charles V. ^{seizes} _{Saxony.} HENRY II., son and successor of Francis I., a warlike prince, but destitute of prudence, was more fit for obeying the dictates of a mistress, than pursuing a grand system of politics. The emperor's apprehensions were removed, and he hastened the execution of his design against the chiefs of the Protestant league. He advanced towards Saxony with only sixteen thousand men; but they were veteran troops, and equivalent to a numerous army; and arriving on the banks of the Elbe, opposite to Muhlberg, he ventured, in opposition to the representations of his officers, to pass that river, which is three hundred paces wide, in sight of the enemy. He animated his troops by sharing their danger; and the success crowned his valour, and justified his hopes.

John Frederic, ^{defeated and} _{taken prisoner.} The elector John Frederic, too irresolute and cautious in his deliberations, though extremely brave in action, and fearless in the midst of dangers, had taken no one proper measure. He

was encamped at Mulhausen, near Muhlberg, when, receiving the unexpected news that the emperor had passed the river, and was advancing to attack him, he collected the whole vigour of his soul, prepared for a battle, and fought with heroic courage. Being defeated, wounded, and taken prisoner, he bore the haughty insults of the conqueror without the least marks of discouragement or vexation. It was to be presumed that Wittemberg, his capital, would submit in the consternation spread by his defeat. But the electress, Sibilla of Cleves, a woman who deserves to be immortalized, encouraged the inhabitants, provided against every possible exigency, and caused the emperor to apprehend that he should miscarry in his attempt upon that place.

In this embarrassment, the politics of Charles V. made him have recourse to an act of despotism, which stained his glory, while it secured his success. He caused the elector to be condemned by a court-martial, composed of Italians and Spaniards, in defiance of the laws of the empire. The sentence being notified to the prisoner, while he was playing at chess, he replied coolly, *I shall die without reluctance, if my death would save the honour of my family, and the inheritance of my children*; and then continued his game, as if nothing could move him.

He is
condemned
to
death.

His wife and family, more terrified at this news than at the imperial arms, thought only of saving his life. Their letters and entreaties determined him to conclude a treaty, by which he put his electorate into the hands of the emperor, on condition that his life should be spared, and the city of Gotha given to his chil-

He
resigns
his
electorate.

dren, with a pension of fifty thousand florins. The traitor Maurice had the spoils of his unfortunate cousin. Had Charles kept so rich a prize, he would have betrayed the ambition which secretly preyed upon his heart.

The
landgrave of
Hesse
submits.
Is
kept
prisoner.

His conduct to Philip, landgrave of Hesse, was still more odious, because fraud opened the way for violence. The landgrave, terrified by the fate of the elector, made his submission, Maurice of Saxony and the elector of Brandenburg becoming sureties that the emperor should not detain him prisoner; and signed the articles imposed upon him, which were, to give up his person and dominions to the disposal of Charles, to come and ask pardon on his knees, &c. He submitted to the humiliation of this mortifying ceremony; but when he was afterwards preparing to depart, he was arrested by the duke of Alva, and put under confinement. The two princes, with whom he had negotiated, in vain conjured the emperor not to expose them to the disgrace which this step would infallibly bring upon them. His haughty and inflexible soul rejected their entreaties, and despised the transports of the landgrave's rage. The intoxication of prosperity called forth all his poison.

Odious
depotism of
the
emperor.

The conqueror publicly insulted the Germanic body, by leading its principal members in captivity from town to town, and, among others, the elector of Saxony. He oppressed all who had joined in the league of Smalkald, with heavy taxes, carried off their artillery, and disarmed the people; levied contributions at his pleasure from his allies, and treated them as if they had been his own subjects. By this

means he raised a general discontent, the effects of which could be suspended only by a panic that would be of no long duration. Ferdinand exercised the same despotism over the Bohemians, and stripped them of almost all their privileges.

A diet was assembled at Augsburg, where the emperor resolved to terminate the religious disputes, and began with seizing the cathedral, where he restored the Romish worship ; after which he made a speech, enjoining submission to the council of Trent. But that council, of which so great hopes had been conceived, seemed already tottering to its fall. The pope, in order to secure an absolute ascendant over its deliberations, had removed it to Bologna, under pretext of an infectious distemper, and none but the bishops subject to Charles V. remained at Trent. Symptoms of schism appeared, and reproaches were thrown out by both parties.

The pope was irritated by the death of Peter Louis Farnese, an execrable tyrant, who was assassinated by some conspirators at Placentia, and the more, as a body of the imperial troops took possession of that city. The principal aim of Paul III. was, not to remedy the evils of the church, but to stir up enemies against the emperor.

Charles, after having fruitlessly demanded, in name of the diet, that the council should return from Bologna to Trent, and protested, with marks of contempt, against an assembly, which depended on the court of Rome, undertook himself to regulate the faith, as he encroached upon the business of the empire. He

He
restores
the Romish
worship
at
Augsburg.

Assassina-
tion of
Peter Louis
Farnese.

1548.
The
Interim
published
at
Augsburg.

published a body of doctrine, in thirty-six articles, called the *Interim*, which was to be in force till the decision of a true council, and his absolute authority made it be passed in the diet without examination. The divines, by whom that *Interim* was composed, had inserted in it the fundamentals of the Catholic doctrine, and preserved the ancient form of worship ; but they allowed the communion in both kinds, and permitted married priests to perform the sacerdotal functions. This was enough to stir up the clamours of the Catholics, who could not bear the least innovation. The Protestants, whose system was overturned, complained still more bitterly. There never was an instance, where temperaments in religious matters reconciled two parties, who, by the heat of the disputes, and the very nature of things, must for ever remain divided. The old crafty pope did not suffer himself to be hurried away by the torrent of zeal, and, foreseeing that the *Interim* would fall, politically kept silence.

It is
established
by
terror.

But the emperor insisted on the observance of it with the authority of a master that would be obeyed ; and all the princes, except the elector of Saxony, who continued inflexible, notwithstanding his captivity, bent their consciences to the yoke. But the free cities, less tractable, and animated by the zeal of the preachers, at first resisted with all the vigour of enthusiasm ; upon which Charles put his army in motion, before they had time to form confederacies. Augsburg and Ulm lost their privileges, their government, and their liberty ; and this example spread a terror, which, under

the appearance of submission, fostered the hatred against what was on that occasion styled Popery.

Mean time the pope, being filled with uneasiness for the loss of Placentia, was contriving means for its recovery ; but could find no other than re-uniting to the Holy See those two duchies, which he had settled on his bastard. He thought that St Peter's patrimony would be more respected than that of his own family, and Octavio Farnese, son and heir of Peter-Louis, was to be indemnified by some other settlement. But that young prince, far from agreeing to the views of the pope, attempted to seize upon the town of Parma, and being unable to succeed, entered into a negociation with the emperor, to whom he was desirous of being indebted for his fortune. Paul III. was so irritated by this procedure, that his death is attributed to the excess of his vexation ; but an old man of four-score and two might sink into the grave by the mere decay of age.

In 1450, Paul had approved the order of Jesuits, then in its infancy ; because St Ignatius, its founder, subjected it entirely to the orders of the pope. A particular vow of obedience, which connected that order more than any other with the court of Rome, fitted it, in a particular manner, for the execution of his designs. The number of the monks was at first limited to threescore ; notwithstanding which, the Old and New World, the cities and courts, were soon filled with Jesuits. That body, in which abilities and virtues were often united with prejudices and dangerous doctrines, was destined one day to draw upon itself the most

1549.
Paul III.
tries
to recover
Parma
and
Placentia.

Origin
of
the Jesuits.

violent storms, for the very reason that it acquired too great power.

1550.
Pontificate
of
Julius III. The new pope, Julius III., a creature of Paul, who was indebted for his election to the family of Farnese, in testimony of his gratitude, put Octavio in possession of Parma. But this instance of generosity did him less honour, than he himself did hurt to his reputation, by giving a cardinal's hat to an obscure youth of sixteen, whose sole merit consisted in amusing him, and taking care of an ape which he kept; an inconceivable weakness, especially at a time when the Holy See was exposed to so many satires.

He
again
assembles
the
council of
Trent. Julius, as well as all the cardinals, had bound himself by oath, that immediately after the election, the council should be again assembled, which had been dissolved by Paul III. But he was not eager in the performance of this obligation, as he knew by experience, having presided in it in quality of legate, how difficult a task it is to govern such assemblies; yet, at last, to satisfy the emperor, he summoned it anew to meet at Trent. The diet of Augsburg acknowledged its authority, from want of power to oppose Charles; and that prince promised full security to the Protestants who should attend it, as well as to the Catholics,

Charles V.
forms
designs
on
Parma. His innumerable projects of ambition, necessarily crossed the design of restoring uniformity in religion, which was more specious than solid. He was in possession of Placentia, to which he was desirous of adding Parma; and Julius III., not daring to declare against him in favour of Octavio Farnese, to whom he even repented that he had restored the duchy, the

duke being threatened with invasion, solicited the aid of the French king.

Henry II. then found himself in a condition to attack the house of Austria. England, after the death of Henry VIII., was filled with disturbances under a minor king. Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, uncle of Edward VI., by the mother's side, and absolute master of the kingdom, under the title of Protector, had totally changed the religious system of the last reign, abolished the ceremonies of the church, and established the rigid and imposing doctrine of Calvin. He had carried a war into Scotland, where fanaticism likewise began to work, and hoped to re-unite the two kingdoms, by the marriage of the queen, Mary Stuart, with the king of England; but the courage of the Scots was revived by the succours that arrived from France. Mary had been contracted to the dauphin; Somerset, surrounded with cabals, had lost his authority; and Boulogne had been restored to France for four hundred thousand crowns.

It was therefore natural that Henry, who was filled with the same sentiments as his father against the ambitious Charles V., should snatch the opportunity of stopping him in his rapid career of fortune. The treaty with Farnese was concluded in a short time; upon the news of which, Julius immediately confiscated the duchy of Parma, and united with the emperor. The war was concluded without any memorable event, Parma sustained a siege, which was raised by the imperialists, and part of the ecclesiastical territories was ravaged by the French,

France
at peace
with
England
during the
reign
of
Edward VI.

1581.
Henry II,
undertakes
the
defence of
Farnese,

Important decisions of the council. The council renewed its deliberations ; and though there were only about sixty prelates assembled, who were almost all Italians or Spaniards, with a few Germans, the most essential points were determined, concerning the eucharist, penance, and extreme unction, without regard to a formal protest entered by the king of France. The emperor prohibited the Lutherans from teaching a contrary doctrine, banished their ministers, and persecuted whoever did not take his will for a rule of their belief.

New instances of the emperor's despotism. During the diet at Augsburg, he had given a proof of despotism, which is unparalleled in profane history. Maurice of Saxony, and the elector of Brandenburg, renewing their solicitations for the deliverance of the landgrave of Hesse, and insisting on the engagement by which they had become sureties that no violence should be offered to his person, he had absolved them from their obligations in this respect, as if honour, good faith, and conscience, had been subject to his dominion. The Protestants did not fail to charge him with arrogating the same spiritual authority as the popes.

CHAPTER VIII.

MAURICE OF SAXONY HUMBLES CHARLES V. HENRY
II. TAKES AND KEEPS THE THREE BISHOPRICKS.

So many odious attempts against the liberties of the Germanic body, necessarily brought on a revolution. Maurice, the most potent of the German princes, after the addition of the electorate of Saxony to his hereditary dominions, secretly formed the design of balancing so overgrown a power. Equally crafty and ambitious, he found means to enjoy the confidence of the emperor, of whom he always appeared a zealous partisan, and of the Protestants themselves, whose opinions he still maintained, though he had betrayed their cause. After having obliged his subjects to conform to the *Interim*, by the help of the timid Melanethon, who was no longer supported by the firmness of Luther, he had silenced the clamours of the bigots, by a public declaration of his zeal for the Reformation. He had solemnly promised, that he would reject the council of Trent, unless the points already determined were debated anew, and a right of suffrage was granted to the Protestant divines. In the mean time, the diet of Augsburg, which was entirely at the emperor's devotion, had named him general of the war against Magdeburg, which had been put under

Artful
policy of
Maurice
of
Saxony.

the ban of the empire, for vigorously opposing the *Interim*.

He
forces
Magdeburg.

That town sustained a siege of twelve months, religious zeal adding new strength to the love of liberty, and Maurice protracting the war, without discovering his designs. The articles of the capitulation were even conformable to the views of Charles ; but the elector gave private assurances, that the inhabitants should neither be deprived of the public exercise of Lutheranism, nor of any of their privileges. In a word, he so totally extinguished the hatred with which they were transported against him during the siege, that they elected him burggrave, a title formerly annexed to the electorate of Saxony, and which gave great authority. This prince advanced to his aim with admirable prudence. The emperor, who was at Innspruck, had his attention too much absorbed in the affairs of the council, and did not entertain the least suspicion. Thus does cunning sometimes fall into the snares which it lays for others.

He
deceives the
able
Granvelle.

Maurice had already entered into a league with France, by which it was stipulated, that Henry II. and he should declare war at the same time against the oppressor of Germany. Religion was not considered in this treaty, which was, on that account, only more conformable to political interest. Before Maurice pulled off the mask, he again demanded the liberty of the landgrave his father-in-law, and the refusal which he met with was an additional justification of his attempt. The famous Granvelle, bishop of Arras, afterwards cardinal, a minister of distinguished abilities, had some

information of the elector's proceedings, and blinded himself by an excess of confidence, saying, that a *drunken German was not capable of imposing upon him*; yet he was more imposed upon than any body. Two Saxon ministers were corrupted, on whose attachment he reposed entire confidence; and the prince having discovered their perfidy, dissembled with so much art to his two ministers, that he made their correspondence with Granvelle a means of dispelling all jealousy.

When every thing was ready for action, Maurice took up arms, and published a manifesto, setting forth his motives, which were calculated to gain the different parties. His design was to secure the Protestant religion, to maintain the constitution and liberties of Germany, and to deliver the landgrave of Hesse from an unjust imprisonment. Such were the reasons which he alleged for his proceedings. Immediately after appeared a manifesto of the king of France, in which Henry II. assumed the title of *Protector of the liberties of Germany and its captive princes*; and declared his purpose of securing the independence of all the members of the empire.

The emperor, who was at Innspruck, almost without troops, without money, in an ill state of health, and lulled in security, was struck as with a thunderbolt at this unexpected news, and his consternation was redoubled by the activity of his enemies. Toul, Verdun, and Metz fell without resistance into the hands of Henry, and Maurice crossed High Germany. He accepted a conference at Lintz with the king of the Romans, that he might show paci-

1552.
He at
last declares
himself.

Manifesto
of
Henry II.

Conquest
of
the
three
bishoprics,

sic sentiments; but it ended only in appointing another. He rapidly continued his march towards the country of Tyrol, forcing the obstacles that retarded his progress, and reckoned upon surprising Charles at Innspruck; but some hours before his arrival, the emperor had taken flight during the night, in the time of a dreadful storm, racked with the gout, and carried in a litter through the middle of the Alps. However, he had the good fortune to get safe to Villach, a strong place in Carinthia.

*Conferences
at
Passaw.*

Maurice returned in triumph to Passaw, the place agreed upon for a second interview with Ferdinand, to which deputies were sent by almost all Germany. He limited his demands to the three articles set forth in his manifesto; the deliverance of the landgrave, the public exercise of the Protestant religion, and the restoration of the privileges and liberties of Germany; which were presented to the emperor in the name of all the states of the empire, the Lutherans being on that occasion seconded by the Catholics. Charles answered with his usual haughtiness, flattering himself, that, by this means, he should gain time; but the elector immediately having recourse again to arms, he became more tractable, the negociation was renewed, and both parties being desirous of peace, either from necessity, or dread of what might happen, it was concluded in a short time.

*Conditions
imposed
on
Charles V.*

The principal conditions were, that the landgrave should be set at liberty, that the *Interim* should be assembled, and a diet assembled in six months to terminate the religious differences; that, in the mean time, liberty of con-

science should be enjoyed in the fullest manner, and Protestants might even be admitted into the imperial chamber ; that if the diet did not put an end to the ecclesiastical disputes, the treaty now concluded should remain perpetually in force, so far as it regarded that matter ; and, lastly, that the examination of the grievances affecting the liberties of the empire should be referred to the approaching diet.

Though the confederates owed a great deal to the king of France, and had engaged neither to make peace nor truce without his consent, he was scarcely named in the treaty. ‘ He experienced the same treatment which every prince who lends his aid to the authors of a civil war may expect,’ says Dr Robertson. ‘ As soon as the rage of faction began to subside, and any prospect of accommodation to open, his services were forgotten, and his associates made a merit with their sovereign of the ingratitude with which they abandoned their protector.’ Henry dissembled his vexation, and resolved to defend his conquests. It is a remarkable circumstance, that this prince, who persecuted the sectaries in his own kingdom, secured their establishment in Germany.

The king
of
France
abandoned
by
his allies.

The attempts of Charles V. to force consciences ended in the same manner. He did not even see the termination of the council, whose decisions he vainly hoped would reconcile the two churches. The terror of Maurice’s arms having reached as far as Trent, the German bishops immediately retired, and the legate who presided was highly pleased with an opportunity of dismissing the rest.

The council
again
broke up.

^{The demand of the Protestants.} There had been great disputes with respect to the safe conduct demanded by the Protestants for their divines ; they desired to have a voice in the deliberations and decisions ; that the Scripture should be adopted for the sole rule, and that the pope should be subject to the decrees of the assembly. But how could such pretensions be admitted ? and if they had, how could the two parties act in concert, understand each other, and come to an agreement ? The whole of ecclesiastical history, from the birth of Arianism, demonstrates, that the spirit of sects is equally obstinate in dispute, and inflexible after decision. Councils have determined doctrines, but they have never subjected nor persuaded heretics.

^{Preparations for the recovery of the three bishoprics.} John Frederic, the former elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse, who were set at liberty after the accommodation at Passaw, wished only to enjoy the sweets of tranquillity. Albert alone, margrave of Brandenburg Anspach, had refused to subscribe the pacification, and continued his ravages in High Germany. The emperor, less solicitous to stop his depredations than eager to be avenged of the French king, made great preparations for recovering what he had lost in Lorraine. By the conquest of the three bishoprics, Champagne had gained a strong frontier, and the empire was exposed to the French arms. It was therefore of the last importance to retake them ; and Charles resolved to employ all his forces in the attempt. He came and laid siege to Metz with an army of sixty thousand men, where he was joined by Albert of Branden-

burg, who had for some time hesitated to which of the two monarchs he should sell his services.

The danger had been foreseen, and prudent measures taken. Francis of Lorraine, duke of Guise, had undertaken the defence of Metz, a town of vast extent, ill fortified, and in no condition of itself to sustain a long siege. The principal noblemen of the kingdom, animated by his courage and example, hastened to share in the glory of the attempt. In a short time he repaired the fortifications, and strengthened the place with new works ; labouring with the soldiers, inspiring courage wherever he appeared, and even making fatigue pleasing by his talent of winning affection. Neither sending away the useless mouths, destroying the suburbs and the mills, laying waste the country round, nor the severe orders dictated by precaution, raised the slightest murmur. He made the people sensible that these sacrifices were due to their country.

The emperor, who was always obstinate in his resolutions, notwithstanding the best counsels, began the siege about the end of October, and thought himself superior to the obstacles which were represented to him in the clearest manner by his generals. But he was punished for his presumptuous confidence. After spending sixty-five days in fruitless efforts, with the loss of thirty thousand men, by the valour of the besieged, the severity of the season, and diseases, he suddenly drew off his army. *I perceive, said he, that fortune, like other females, forsakes old men, to lavish her favours on the young.*

But this disaster deserved more serious reflections.

His losses in Italy. Fortune gave him other subjects of mortification in Italy. He lost the principality of Piombino, which his necessities obliged him to sell for an inconsiderable sum to Cosmo Medici. Sienna drove out the Spanish garrison, and put itself under the protection of France. The coasts of Calabria were ravaged by Dragut, a pupil of Barbarossa, who had been sent by Soliman at the head of a fleet. The Turks waited for the French squadron before Naples; but that being retarded by some unknown obstacles, and no news of it arriving, they returned to Constantinople.

1553.
Death of the famous Maurice of Saxony.
Of John Frederick. The formidable Albert of Brandenburg having been put under the ban of the empire for new acts of violence, again laid waste part of Germany; but was defeated at Sieverhausen, in the duchy of Lunenburg, by the army of the empire, under the command of Maurice of Saxony, who fell in the arms of victory. Could any thing wipe out the acts of treachery committed by this elector, too great admiration could not be paid to his success, for which he was indebted to miracles of political wisdom. As he left only one daughter, afterwards married to the famous William, prince of Orange, John Frederick, whom he had unjustly deprived of his dominions, reclaimed the electoral dignity; but Augustus, brother of Maurice, carried it against him, even by the judgment of the states of Saxony; and the electorate has always remained in possession of the younger branch, named Albertine, though, in the order

of nature, it belonged to the Ernestine ; only Altenburg was added to the share of John Frederic. That prince died next year, whose virtues made him more respectable in his adversity than his oppressor had been in a brilliant, but guilty prosperity.

Let us take a short view of the consequences of the war between France and the emperor, which were calamitous to the subjects of both nations, who fell victims to the personal animosity of the princes. Charles having taken Tercouane by assault, rased that city, of which nothing now remains but the name. Hesdin likewise fell into his hands ; but this was all the advantage he reaped from a campaign, the expenses of which had swallowed up his treasures. The year following, the two hostile monarchs appeared at the head of their troops, in the Low Countries, but performed no action worthy of their preparations. Cosmo Medici took arms in Italy to drive the French out of Sienna ; and Strozzi, a Florentine, who commanded the army of that kingdom, lost the battle of Marciano, which he ought not to have fought ; but the brave Montluc defended Sienna no less than ten months, the love of liberty making the citizens bear all the severities of famine. At last he capitulated, on condition that the republic should preserve its liberty and privileges under the protection of the empire ; a capitulation almost no sooner made than broken.

The conquest which the emperor was most ambitious of making, and which he fruitlessly attempted with all his forces, was very nearly accomplished by a conspiracy of monks.

Events of
war.
Strozzi
and
Montluc.

1555.

Conspiracy
of the
Cordeliers
at
Metz.

The superior of the Cordeliers at Metz, a man of a bold, intriguing spirit, had insinuated himself into the confidence of the governor, and traitorously formed a design to deliver up the town to the enemy; for which purpose he seduced the monks of his monastery, and received into it a number of soldiers disguised in the habit of Cordeliers, who were to open the gates to the garrison of Thionville. The plot was discovered on the very day appointed for the execution, and the superior condemned to death, with twenty of his monks; who, being left together in a chamber to confess each other, murdered him with their own hands, and beat to death five of the eldest among them, that had joined with him in seducing the rest. The criminals would have been pardoned, in consideration of their habit, had not the example appeared absolutely necessary. Only six of the youngest were spared.

CHAPTER IX.

REIGN OF MARY IN ENGLAND. PAUL IV. DISTURBS EUROPE BY HIS AMBITION, ABDICATION OF CHARLES V.

WHILE war was raging, to the misfortune of mankind, the insatiable ambition of Charles V. opened a new and successful career. Edward VI. dying in 1553, at the age of fifteen, was succeeded by his sister Mary, daughter of Henry VIII., and Catharine of Arragon. Dudley, duke of Northumberland, having made an attempt to set the crown on the head of Jean Gray, his daughter-in-law, and niece of Henry VIII., only ruined himself, his son, and that amiable, virtuous, and learned lady, whom he had forced into his measures. All three perished on the scaffold,

Mary had
succeeded
Edward VI.
in
England.

As Mary's husband would necessarily mount the throne of England, Charles immediately conceived the design of procuring that kingdom for his son, who was heir to so vast dominions. Philip, equally ambitious with his father, readily consented to marry a woman of thirty-eight, though he was but twenty-seven. The queen being strongly attached to a family from which she was descended, and still more

Her
marriage
with
Philip II.
disagreeable
to the
English.

zealous for the Romish religion, which she was resolved to establish by the authority of law, or the force of persecution, wished for a husband such as Philip, whose violent zeal had been already manifested, and whose power facilitated the means of executing her designs. On the contrary, the English nation, apprehensive for its religion and liberty, looked upon that marriage with horror. But all obstacles were surmounted by the emperor's intrigues and money. By the settlement, it was agreed, that Philip should have the title of King; that the regal authority should remain in the hands of Mary; that no violation should be offered to the constitution and the national customs.

1554.
The
Catholic
religion
restored.

On Philip's arrival in England, their suspicions and apprehensions were confirmed by his cold, imperious manner, his bigotry, and his inclination to despotism. One parliament having thrown out some bills against heresy, was immediately after dissolved; but a second gave itself up to the views of the court. Cardinal Pole, a descendant of the blood royal, who had been attainted several years before, was received in quality of the pope's legate. The two houses repealed the acts for establishing Protestantism, demanded absolution, and requested the favour of being reconciled to the church of Rome, which they obtained without difficulty. Julius III. was agreeably surprised, when he received the thanks of the English *for suffering them to do what*, he said, *he himself ought to thank them for having done.* Rome triumphed, but had reasons to dread the loss of her acquisition.

Thus, we see three changes of religion in three succeeding reigns. A fourth might have been foreseen, as the parliaments were determined by the opinion of the sovereign. Fire and sword were employed against the heterodox ; which was a means to render the belief, that ought to have been inspired into men's minds, odious and of short duration. Mary and Philip, in their zeal, consulted only their own tyrannical inclinations. A cruel inquisition was established among a people who have always been jealous of their liberties. Five bishops, and, among others, the celebrated primate Cranmer, who had enjoyed the confidence of Henry VIII., courageously expired in the flames. In three years, heresy reckoned up two hundred threescore and seventeen martyrs, whose unshaken fanaticism could only serve to inflame enthusiasts, and irritate their hatred against the church. These atrocious cruelties produced a discontent almost universal.

To the barbarism of manners, to the rage of superstition, to the examples of the early ages, which were too frequent, and sometimes extolled in history, and to the absurd madness of commanding the opinions of men, must be attributed that persecuting spirit, so contrary to Christianity, and nevertheless so contagious, that it even infected the heads of the reformation, who, when they changed the doctrines, made it a capital crime to dissent from their opinions. Under Edward VI., a prince naturally gentle, the fires were more than once lighted up for heresy. One day, signing the warrant for the execution of a woman, he said to Cranmer, with tears in his eyes, *If I am*

Persecution
raised by
Mary
and
Philip.

Whence
the
spirit of
persecution
among
Christians
proceeds.

doing wrong, you shall be answerable for it. Thus Cranmer, who was a man of known moderation, suffered himself to be hurried away by the torrent of custom. Luther had been a violent persecutor ; and Servetus, a learned Spanish physician, was burnt at Geneva, by the instigation of Calvin, who accused him of being an enemy to the Trinity. Fanaticism was universally prevalent.

Evils that
necessarily
resulted
from
it.

Men's minds were not then sufficiently enlightened to be convinced, that it is as unjust to punish opinions and errors with the severities reserved for the blackest criminals, as it is of importance to curb those who attempt to disturb the public peace, especially in matters of religion. But ought they not to have foreseen that the persecuted party, if at last it got the upper hand, would infallibly turn persecutor ? that persecution was a source of civil wars ? and that, under the specious pretence of avenging the cause of God, who commands the exercise of fraternal charity to all men, without exception or distinction of worship, the society of Christians was filled with animosities, enmities, and violences, of which there are almost no examples to be found among the Pagans ?

1555.
Establish-
ment of
the
peace of
religion at
the
diet of
Augsburg.

The fire which had first been kindled in Germany was happily extinguished in that country, while it spread its ravages into other nations. The emperor had given up his ill-grounded projects of despotism ; and it was for the interest of Ferdinand, king of the Romans, who held a new diet at Augsburg, to conciliate the hearts of the people. By the famous recess of this diet, the peace of religion was established

on terms highly advantageous to both parties, though in some respects it was imperfect. Entire liberty of conscience was granted to the states which adhere to the confession of Augsburg. Neither the Calvinists nor Zuinglians then enjoyed this privilege; and they obtained it only by the treaty of Westphalia. It was enacted, that from henceforth religious disputes should be terminated only by the pacific methods of conference and persuasion; an excellent law, which ought to have prevented the civil wars. The Protestants were left in possession of the ecclesiastical property which they had seized. It was likewise agreed, that every beneficiary, who forsook the Romish religion, should immediately lose his benefice; to which they who had the right of collation should name another, as being vacant. This is the *ecclesiastical reservation*, as equitable in its foundation, as proper to keep the clergy within the pale of the church.

Such an act could not but give offence to the court of Rome, both because it proceeded from an assembly, great part of which consisted of laymen, and because the popes arrogated to themselves the exclusive right of judging in religious matters. We shall see in the sequel, that it was not examined how far the right of kings and people, to decide in what is essentially necessary to the public tranquillity, may in some circumstances extend; nor was it considered, that formerly ecclesiastical affairs were frequently decided in national assemblies, composed of the nobles and bishops. The Holy See was believed to be injured, and a bloody war was kindled upon this account.

The recess
offensive
to the
court of
Rome.

*Paul IV.
Caraffa
at first an
austere
man.*

Julius III., more addicted to pleasures than to the cares of government, died, leaving a bad character. His successor, Marcellus II., was worthy of the tiara, but possessed it only one-and-twenty days. He kept his family at a distance from Rome. Cardinal Caraffa succeeded him, under the name of Paul IV., and adopted a quite different system. This pontiff, who was now fourscore, had entered into the order of Dominicans early in life; had afterwards resigned valuable benefices, in order to found the order of the Theatins, whose rule prescribed the most rigid poverty, with a prohibition of asking any thing in charity; and when he was again taken from the cloister, and promoted to the purple, had preserved his former excessive austerity of manners. But, on his mounting the papal throne, he showed himself an entirely different man; affected extraordinary magnificence; and, when the steward of his household asked how his table should be furnished, proudly replied, *Like that of a great prince.* His nephews were invested with the first offices, who being devoured with ambition, and guiding him at their pleasure, persuaded him to undertake a conquest, in order to procure dominions for them, and aggrandize his own.

*His harsh
and haughty
conduct.*

His temper and principles afforded them means of pushing him on to the boldest enterprises. Being a mortal enemy to the heretics, he had established the inquisition in Italy, and was transported with rage at the indulgence granted them in Germany. Being tainted with all the ancient prejudices on the papal power, he joined to them that arrogant pride which

had been so often employed for their support. His nephews determined him to propose to the king of France the conquest and division of the kingdom of Naples ; in which resolution he was confirmed by the recess of Augsburg, and threatened Charles V. and Ferdinand with his resentment if it was not immediately annulled. When the danger of attempting, and impossibility of executing, such an act of violence were represented to him, he replied, that in the cause of God and the church, the wisdom of this world ought not to be consulted ; after which he privately concluded his treaty with France, under pretext of defending the cause of God and the church.

In the mean time, the emperor surprised Europe by an unforeseen abdication, which confounded all the ideas of politicians. For some years he longed for retirement ; the sentiments of ambition, by which he had been kept in perpetual agitation, being blunted by disease, mortifications, and the decline of his fortune. Unable longer to support the weight of business, and dreading the thoughts of throwing the load upon another, because he made the success depend upon himself, he was desirous of preserving his glory unobscured ; and flattered himself, that he should increase it by devoting himself to solitude, in which religious motives likewise prompted him to work out his salvation. He had already ceded the Milanese and the kingdom of Naples to his son Philip, who was then twenty-eight years of age, versed in business, and capable of conducting it properly. In a great assembly of the states held at Brussels, he formally put him in pos-

1556.
Abdication
of
Charles V.

session of the Low Countries, to which, a few months after, he added the crowns of Spain and America.

Speech
which he
made
to Philip at
Brussels.

On no consideration violate the respect due to religion ; maintain the Catholic faith in all its purity ; always look upon the laws of the nation as sacred ; never infringe the rights or privileges of your people ; and, if you should one day be desirous of enjoying the happiness of a private life, may you have a son, to whom you can resign the sceptre with as great and just a satisfaction as I now feel in giving it to you ! This discourse, which he pronounced in the assembly at Brussels, made the audience melt into tears. Philip II. followed his father's advice in some articles, which were conformable to his own sentiments ; but we shall see him sacrificing the rights of the subjects to the superstitious zeal with which he was animated, and religion suffered by it as much as the people.

CHAPTER X.

WAR BETWEEN HENRY II. AND PHILIP II. STIRRED UP BY PAUL IV. DEATH OF CHARLES V.

THE glory of Charles V. would have been crowned by ending the war with France, and giving peace to all Europe, after having deluged it with blood ; he therefore undertook the work. A truce of five years was concluded, during which each power was to remain in possession of its conquests. The constable Montmorenci, who had prudently opposed the league with Rome, determined Henry to accept this truce, by which he not only preserved the three bishoprics, but almost all the dominions belonging to the house of Savoy. But the duke of Guise, and his brother the Cardinal de Lorraine, were too ambitious patiently to bear the public tranquillity.

Truce
of
five years
concluded
by
Charles V.

The treaty with Caraffa had been concluded by their advice, and they took measures with great address for carrying it into execution ; at the same time, Paul IV. exerted his crafty policy, while he testified that desire of peace, which the quality of common father required, and assumed the appearance of mediator. He pressed the court of France to renew her first

The war
rekindled by
Paul IV.
and
the Guises.

engagements, and represented the conquest of Naples as an easy matter. The Guises, and the famous Diana de Poitiers, duchess of Valentinois, Henry's mistress, gave weight to those reasons, which good faith and the public weal ought to have condemned. The monarch had sworn to the truce; but the Cardinal Carrarra, nuncio from the pope, made no difficulty of absolving him from his oath.

Violent
measures of
the
pope.
Scrapes
of
Philip II.

As soon as Paul was acquainted with the success of the negociation, in defiance even of the rules of decency, he imprisoned a Spanish minister, excommunicated the Colonnas, who were attached to the Imperial family, and declared Philip guilty of felony, and deprived of his right to the kingdom of Naples, for having supported them. This prince, who was equally superstitious and political, did not dare to take arms without consulting the theologians. Their opinion being favourable, the duke of Alva, who commanded in Italy, carried terror to the gates of Rome; and the pope, notwithstanding his unconquerable obstinacy, was obliged to sue for a suspension of arms, and obtained it, because the king of Spain was still haunted with the same scruples.

1557.
The duke of
Guise
miscarries
in the
Neapolitan
war.

On the arrival of the duke of Guise, who was invested with the command of the troops, Paul showed himself more audacious than ever, publishing anathemas, and thinking himself master of Naples. Yet he could neither furnish the troops nor the money which he had promised, and the lustre of the duke's reputation was tarnished by a fruitless campaign; while France, engaged in a destructive war, by the ambition of that nobleman and the Car-

dinal de Lorraine, found itself exposed to the greatest dangers.

The queen of England, a slave to the will of Philip, who did not love her, and equally odious to the nation with her husband, had entered into a league with him against Henry II., notwithstanding the repugnance of the English. Soon after, Picardy was invaded by a formidable army, which laid siege to St Quintin. These troops were commanded by Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, an excellent general ; and Philip, who was by no means jealous of military glory, remained at a distance proper for watching the events. As this siege had not been foreseen, the place was unprovided. Happily, the Admiral de Coligni, one of the greatest captains of the age, had the courage to throw himself into it with a few troops ; but his uncle, the Constable de Montmorenci, eager to relieve him, ventured a battle with a force much inferior to that of the enemy ; and the duke of Savoy, taking advantage of that error, attacked him, made him prisoner, and cut his army in pieces, with the loss of scarce a hundred men.

Had Philip II. been less timid or less circumspect ; had he ventured, as he was advised by the general, to march directly to Paris, which was filled with the greatest consternation by the news of the battle of St Quintin, he probably would have met with scarce any resistance ; but he obstinately continued the siege of the town. The French recovered from their panic, the nobility flew to arms through the whole kingdom, the cities signalized their zeal by voluntary contributions, and the king was soon in a

*Siege
of
St Quintin.*

*Philip
draws little
advantage
from
his victory.*

condition to defend himself. St Quintin, Ca-telet, Ham, and Noyon, were the sole fruits of a victory which threatened destruction to that potent monarchy.

The
Escurial
built
in
consequence
of
a vow.

An action now done by Philip will give a characteristic idea of his devotion. In memory of the battle which was gained upon St Laurence's day, he made a vow to erect a church, a monastery, and a palace, consecrated to the holy martyr, and ordered them to be built in the form of a gridiron ; because St Laurence had been burned on a gridiron, according to the writers of the legends. The work was continued twenty-two years, at immense expense. Such is the original of the Escurial near Madrid, which is become the residence of the Spanish monarchs.

Paul IV.
makes
peace with
Spain.

The duke of Guise had been recalled from Italy to defend the kingdom, of which Paul IV. complained as an act of treachery. Peace became necessary to him, and he turned Philip's superstitious disquiets to so good account, that he made it one of the articles of the treaty, that the duke of Alva should come to Rome, and ask pardon for having attacked the patrimony of the church. The haughty Spaniard submitted in the king's name to this humiliating condition. Philip restored Placentia to the duke of Parma, whom he was desirous of attaching to his interest. Cosmo, duke of Tuscany, had the address to obtain Sienna for the money due to him by the king. At this time, the states of Italy acquired stability, the balance was more equal, and the great efforts of war turned to another quarter.

Meantime the duke of Guise, who was received in France as a saviour, and nominated lieutenant-general of the kingdom, meditated an expedition worthy of his genius and glory. He put himself in motion in the middle of winter, deceived the enemy by false marches, and suddenly laid siege to Calais. That place, which, for upwards of two hundred years, had afforded the enemy an open passage into France, which Edward III. could not take in less time than eleven months, and which passed for impregnable, was forced in eight days. The English usually withdrew almost the whole garrison at the end of autumn, and Mary's council was so blind as even to neglect the advice of Philip, who wanted to throw a body of troops into the town. Some of them carried their confidence so far as to say, that if Calais was attacked during the winter, they would undertake to defend it with their white rods. Thus do people bring misfortunes on themselves for want of foreseeing dangers. Guines was carried by assault, and there remained nothing more to the English in the kingdom.

After this glorious conquest, the duke passed his winter's leisure in preparing for new enterprises. He next made himself master of Thionville, which sustained a siege of three months; but a French army, under the command of the marechal de Termes, was defeated by the Count de Egmond at Gravelines. Chance, on this, as on many other occasions, decided the fate of arms. The French, though much inferior in number, made the victory doubtful, when an English squadron came up at the noise of the firing, and played on them with its artillery.

1558.
Calais taken
by
the duke
of
Guise.

Taking
of
Thionville.
Battle
of
Gravelines,

About two thousand fell in the field, and the general was taken prisoner, with a number of officers of distinction.

All parties disposed for peace. The two monarchs were equally desirous of peace : Philip, because he longed to return into Spain, not being able to endure any other residence ; and Henry, because he had above all things at heart, to stop the progress of heresy in his kingdom. Besides, the duchess de Valentinois being discontented with the Guises, whose credit was increased by the war, inspired him with such sentiments as she thought most to her own advantage. Montmorenci, therefore, who was still in the hands of the Spaniards, was authorized to enter into a negotiation, the success of which we shall see afterwards.

Charles V. leaves the empire to his brother Ferdinand. Had the empire been in the disposal of Charles, in the same manner as his hereditary dominions, he would have left the whole power in the hands of his son. He heartily repented of having procured to his brother the title of king of the Romans ; had twice attempted to prevail on him to renounce it, offering him some fiefs in exchange ; and on Ferdinand's refusal, had even striven, to as little purpose, to gain a diet. The Germanic body felt by experience, how dangerous a formidable head was to its liberty. Before Charles retired from the world, he made another effort ; but not being able to overcome his brother's opposition, abdicated the imperial crown in his favour. The act, though made in 1556, was presented to the electors only in the beginning of 1558.

Opposition of The diet of Francfort readily acknowledged Ferdinand I., but he found strange difficulties

at Rome, where his ambassador showed the pope the ordinary marks of respect. Paul IV., as infatuated with the prerogatives of his see as if he had lived two centuries before, declared the acts of the diet null, maintaining, that, in the event of resignation, it was his privilege to name an emperor; that Ferdinand had made himself unworthy of the empire by favouring the heretics; and that the Protestant electors had lost their right of suffrage by separating from the church of Rome. He insisted, that the emperor should express his repentance for what was past, renounce the title with which he had been irregularly invested at Francfort, and submit to the authority and clemency of the pope. In vain did the king of Spain, in the warmest manner, press the pope to desist from such extravagant pretensions. The emperor was not acknowledged by the court of Rome during that pontificate.

Charles V. had retired into the monastery of St Justus, in Estremadura; there, in solitude and peace, without the least pomp or grandeur, cultivating his garden, amusing himself with mechanics, making clocks, and conversing with a small number of private persons. He tasted the sweets of repose, meditated on the nothingness of the world, and sought in religion more solid happiness than that which he had abandoned. Thus did he pass a year in the felicity of self-enjoyment, after having been for so long a time the sport of a restless and insatiable ambition.

Some months before his death, the fits of the gout returning with double violence, he was seized with a deep melancholy; his reason be-

He dies in melancholy and devotion.

gan to fail, and he spent every moment in company with the monks, joining in their exercises, and performing their penances. He even took a fancy to have his own obsequies performed in his presence. He was carried on a bier to the church, the office of the dead was sung, and the funeral ceremonies performed. The next day he was seized with a fever, which carried him off in the forty-ninth year of his age.

His activity and talents. Possessed of so vast an empire, his talents and uncommon activity answered to that extensive dominion, as far as it is possible for human weakness. The ardour with which he pursued every object of his ambitious policy, is proved by his taking nine journeys into Germany, ten into the Low Countries, seven into Italy, six into Spain, four into France, twice visiting England, and making two expeditions into Africa. He knew mankind; and the success which attended his enterprises was, in a great measure, owing to the judicious choice of those whom he employed. What glory would he not have merited, if, instead of every where kindling dissensions and wars, he had dedicated his cares to the happiness of his subjects! *The people of quality rob me, said he one day, the men of letters instruct me, the traders enrich me.* When he thus reflected on different objects, he ought to have seen, that a sovereign makes himself happy, not by conquests or despotism, but by the wisdom of his government, the equity of his laws, and every thing that makes nations flourish.

His sentiments with regard to It is said, that in his retirement, not being able to make two clocks go exactly alike, he

blamed himself as having been guilty of a piece of folly, in attempting to subject men to uniformity of belief. Yet his son was equally despotic and merciless towards those whose belief differed from his own. Philip seemed to rival Paul in heightening the barbarity of the Inquisition. Constantine Ponza, chaplain and confessor of Charles V., was burnt in effigy as a heretic ; and the memory of that emperor himself narrowly escaped being blackened. To complete the horror, the king hearing one day, that thirty persons, at least, had a little before perished at an *auto-da-fé*, requested that a like execution might be performed in his presence, and beheld, with joy, forty victims devoted to torments and death by false zeal. One of them, a man of distinction, requesting a pardon, *No*, replied he coldly, *were it my own son, I would give him up to the flames, if he obstinately persisted in heresy.* We may judge beforehand what mischiefs this atrocious superstition produced, and what a ferment it raised in the minds both of fanatic religionists, and the favourers of liberty.

CHAPTER XI.

RÉIGN OF ELIZABETH IN ENGLAND. SHE CHANGES THE RELIGION. PEACE OF CATEAU CAMBRESIS. DEATH OF HENRY II. AND PAUL IV.

1558.
Elizabeth
succeeds
Mary
in
England.

MARY, queen of England, whose cruelties had made her religion odious, and whose government was likewise disgraced by the loss of Calais, neglected by her husband, and a prey to vexation, died without children, in 1558. Her sister Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, mounted the throne, according to the order of succession established by Henry VIII., and confirmed by the parliament. This princess, who was always in danger of death under the last reign, was instructed in the school of adversity. Endowed with an uncommon share of genius, knowledge, courage, and policy, though not twenty-six years of age, she was able to support with glory the weight of government in the most tempestuous times. Her first steps will make this evident.

Paul IV.
treats
her
unworthily.

Notwithstanding her secret aversion from the Romish religion, which she was resolved to abolish, she kept a minister at Rome, and charged him to give the pope notice of her accession. Here the haughty imprudence of Paul

IV. showed itself undisguised. He treated Elizabeth as a bastard ; expressed his surprise that she should have the boldness to take possession, without his consent, of a kingdom feudatory to the Holy See (we imagine ourselves in the age of King John and Innocent III.) ; and only condescended to give her hopes of indulgence, if she would make her submission and ask pardon. Clement VII., who had lost England by his own fault, had not behaved so imprudently to Henry VIII.

In a short time she took the advantage given her by this insult, which had filled the kingdom with indignation ; but precipitated nothing, because the changes of religion in a state require the greatest prudence. She gained her people's hearts, and prepared their minds ; and the parliament completed the work, by confirming to her the supremacy, and with the title of *Head of the Church* ; granting to her the spiritual authority which had been exercised by her father and brother. The mass and Romish liturgy were abolished without opposition ; but so many of the ceremonies were retained, that the form of the worship made the great innovations pass. Accordingly, almost all the parish priests and beneficiaries of the second order submitted to the change. Only one bishop took the oath of supremacy ; all the rest were deposed. What had the Catholic faith gained, then, by the violences of Mary and her husband ? Executions never regulated belief, they rather prevent conversion ; and as they can only make men hypocrites, every thing changes when the fear of them is removed,

She
changes
the religion
with
prudence,

*Political
advantages
of the
reformation.*

Though England had the misfortune to go astray in the road of salvation, the Reformation was advantageous to it in several points respecting civil and political order. Population increased after the abolition of religious celibacy. A great number of festivals were cancelled, which had been preposterously sanctified by idleness, and suspended the labours necessary for society. The disputes concerning jurisdiction between the priesthood and the temporal power no more disturbed the internal harmony of the government. Industry ceased to be cramped and smothered by the immense possessions of the clergy and monks. The ruinous exactions of the court of Rome were prevented, and a great number of abuses, which destroyed money, time and lives, fell into disuse of themselves.

*Numerous
pilgrimages
to the shrine
of St James.*

Rymer's collection of state papers proves how prejudicial the single pilgrimage to St James of Compostella was to England. In 1428, nine hundred and sixteen persons obtained permission to go thither; two thousand four hundred and sixty in 1434; two thousand one hundred in 1445. This particular will enable us to judge of the rest.

*Conduct
of
Philip II. to
Elizabeth.*

As soon as Elizabeth was on the throne, the kings of France and Spain rivalled each other in courting her friendship. The second, in hope of possessing the throne of England, offered her his hand, and solicited a dispensation from Rome to complete the marriage. But this princess had too much good sense to accept this offer, which was equally contrary to the wishes of the English and her own inclina-

tions. However, she dissembled. Philip at first supported the interests of Elizabeth with warmth, in the negotiations which were continued at Cateau Cambresis; but he cooled when he saw her ruin the Catholic religion, which was overturning the work of Philip himself, as well as Mary. The two powers treated separately with Henry II.; yet there was but a day's distance between the treaties.

That with England contains nothing remarkable, except the article of Calais. Elizabeth, not being able to recover this place, nor to yield it without staining her honour, left it for eight years in the hands of the king of France, on condition of his restoring it, or paying five hundred thousand crowns at the end of that period; provided, notwithstanding, that England broke the peace neither with France nor Scotland. Thus, Elizabeth saved appearances, and that was a great deal. It cannot be supposed that she hoped to recover the possession of Calais. She was obliged to sacrifice it, or retake it by force. Circumstances rendered the sacrifice necessary; and policy veiled it from the eyes of the people in such a manner that it raised no clamours. A prudent minister pays a deference to the opinion of the public, and sometimes seems to lead it as he pleases. We shall see the uneasiness given to the queen of England by the pretensions of Mary Stuart, who was married to the dauphin.

By the treaty with Spain, Henry restored a vast number of places for St Quintin, Ham, and Catelet; the duke of Savoy was reestablished in his dominions, with the exception of Turin, Pi-

1558.
Treaty
with
Elizabeth,
who
gives up
Calais.

Treaty
with
Philip II.

nerol, Chivas, and Villeneuve ; the marquisate of Montferrat was restored to the duke of Mantaua, and the conquered towns in Corsica to the republic of Genoa. The pope, the emperor, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Portugal, and Scotland, were comprehended in this treaty, as allies of one or other of the kings. France retained Metz, Toul, and Verdun, because Philip was not sanguine in supporting the interest of his uncle Ferdinand. The two branches of the house of Austria were for some time less friends than rivals. Philip did not forget Ferdinand's refusal to give up the empire in his favour.

France makes many concessions.

The French nation loudly complained of a treaty so contrary to their hopes. They were filled with indignation at the cession of no fewer than one hundred and forty-nine fortified places, which had been taken in the Low Countries or in Italy. The constable Montmorenci, impatient to conclude the peace of which he was the author, had found an expedient to gain the consent of the court, by a double marriage of Henry's sister with the duke of Savoy, and of Philip with Henry's eldest daughter. The marriages of princes are seldom bands of sincere union, but have frequently served as a specious varnish to colour what they would otherwise have been ashamed of doing.

At last festivals succeeded to battles. But they cost the life of Henry II., who was mortally wounded at a tournament, after having broken several lances,

His excessive

seeds of the wars of Calvinism were sown by the sanguinary zeal of this prince

against the innovators, which he carried so far as to attempt a prosecution of the duchess of Ferrara, daughter of Louis XII., who granted an asylum in her court to the literati that were tinctured with heterodoxy. He ordered the judges to cause all to be arrested as heretics, who should solicit them in favour of the religionists that were condemned to inhuman torments. Some members of parliament were imprisoned for proposing a mitigation of the sentences. It was said that zeal made acts of barbarity a duty ; yet we shall find that the fruit which they produced was, dragging religion and the state to the brink of ruin.

*and
pernicious
zeal.*

Paul IV., one of those violent pontiffs who seemed born to set Europe in a flame, died the same year, 1559, and was followed to the grave with the curses of the people. His statue was broken in pieces, and thrown into the Tiber. The prisoners confined in the Inquisition were set at liberty ; and the prison which he had caused to be built was thrown down as a monument of horror ; and the convent of the Dominicans, who presided in that tribunal, narrowly escaped being burnt to ashes. The Caraffas, whom Paul IV., had banished from Rome, after sacrificing every thing to raise their fortune, contributed to the election of Pius IV., Medichino, whose gratitude soon cooled ; for he put them to death the year following. This new pope acknowledged Ferdinand as emperor ; and made his pontificate famous by terminating the council of Trent, which had been interrupted ever since 1552.

*Death
of
Paul IV.*

Pius IV.

CHAPTER XII.

END OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENTO. ITS DISCIPLINE
REJECTED IN FRANCE. SOCINIANISM. LITERATURE.

Demand for a national council in France. THE religious troubles with which France was already agitated, as we shall soon see, made the people desire a national council, where, probably, there would have been many useless disputes. Such assemblies alarmed the court of Rome still more than a general council, whose operations it could direct or suspend. Besides, Catharine Medici, the queen-mother, who held the reins under young Francis II., proposed to the pope some concessions of the most delicate nature for the Holy See; viz. removing the images to which adoration was paid; retrenching some of the ceremonies used in baptism; granting the communion in both kinds; celebrating the sacred office, and especially mass, in the vulgar tongue; abolishing the festival of Corpus-christi, and the processions of the holy sacrament; articles which seemed to give the Protestants the advantage over the Catholics. Dreading, therefore, lest the court and clergy of France should overleap all obstacles, he made haste to reassemble the council; and it was again opened, for the last time, in the month of January 1562.

Pius IV. resembles the council of Trent.

An attempt was made to draw the Protestants of Germany to the council; but they insisted upon its former decisions being examined, and on having a joint voice in the determinations; which they likewise foresaw would be unfavourable to their tenets. The emperor Ferdinand, far from restraining their liberty, did not accept the bull of convocation. Pius IV. soon discovered how he was affected towards the religionists, by proposing a league, the purpose of which was to crush them in every country. Force seemed to him more effectual than the canons and censures of the church; but this was the way to arm those whom it was of importance to convince and convert.

Even among the Catholics, clouds were rising of an appearance ominous to the council of Trent. The court of Rome had too palpable an influence over its determinations. *The*

Holy Spirit was sent from Rome in the courier's portmanteau, said some persons of distinction. This indecent raillery is particularly attributed to Lansac, one of the French ambassadors. Another of them, the learned Fibrac, in a speech before the assembly, said, in plain terms, that the councils held under Paul III. and Julius III. had done no good, and declared that the present ought not to tread in their steps.

It cannot be doubted, that the legates and Italian bishops employed all their address to carry every thing agreeably to the pleasure of the pope. Lainez, general of the Jesuits, attempted to prove, by a long discourse, that the pope was the sole fountain of all spiritual authority, and that the whole hierarchy was contained in him alone. It was not only impos-

Unable
to
draw the
Protestants
to it,
he proposes
a
war against
them.

Complaints
of
the French
against
the council.

Influence
of
the legates
and
Italians.

sible to procure a decision, that the institution of bishops was of *divine right*; but one of the principal canons insinuates, that they derive their powers from the pope. It is conceived in these terms: *If any man saith, that the bishops, who are elected by the authority of the pope, are not true and lawful bishops, but that it is an invention of man, let him be anathematized.* The disputes on this subject had been so warm, that they were on the point of producing a violent and incurable rupture.

Many intrigues and disputes. Fra Paolo, and even Pallavicini, in their histories of the council, unravelled the complication of intrigues, contests, subterfuges, and vain subtleties, which mingled but too frequently with matters worthy of being treated with the utmost reverence. Without stopping to consider the points of faith, which have been received by the church, and therefore must not now be examined, let us only remark some decrees respecting discipline, which breathe the ancient spirit of dominion and independence.

Decrees proposed for the reformation of princes. The great object of this assembly ought to have been the reformation of the church and the extirpation of the abuses with which it was reproached by the innovators; but a decree was projected for the reformation of princes, comprehended in thirteen articles, tending to establish the clerical immunities, such as they had originated in the ages of ignorance, both respecting their persons and possessions, not even excepting their paternal inheritances. Du Ferrier, one of the French ambassadors, opposed this attempt with equal strength of reason and eloquence. Some cen-

sured his discourse as heretical, and the majority judged it at least scandalous ; upon which he withdrew, in compliance with the orders of the court, as had been already done by his colleagues. The decree was reduced only to an exhortation to princes to protect the liberty of the church, and maintain the ecclesiastical immunities and jurisdiction ; but the execution of all the papal constitutions for that purpose was enjoined by an ordinance.

Thus a multitude of bulls, evidently repugnant to the civil rights, the authority of princes and magistrates, and the general good of society, were established into laws by the council ; and, what is more astonishing, France alone, or rather a part of the nation, has constantly persisted in rejecting such a system of discipline. In other countries, the governments have contented themselves with general terms, in order to secure their rights.

By other decrees, the pope was constituted judge of the bishops in criminal matters ; and he was invested with the right of delegating to other judges, or calling before his own tribunal those causes, the decision of which belonged to the bishops, to whom, *in quality of delegates of the Holy See*, were assigned functions naturally inseparable from their ministry. On the other side, rights were attributed to them, which may be reclaimed by the civil power. They were made judges of books, administrators of the hospitals, and executors of pious legacies. Ordinances were enacted, imposing, in certain cases, fines, confiscations, confinement of the body, and even capital punishment in the case of duels.

The
ecclesiastical
immunities
confirmed.

Decrees
contrary to
civil
rights.

^{On}
marriage. The doctrinal decree respecting marriage not only establishes the impediments of spiritual affinity, for which a dispensation is absolutely necessary, but gives a sanction to the marriage of children of family while under age, without the consent of their parents, and pronounces an anathema against all who shall maintain the contrary. The contrary has been maintained in France, for very good reasons.

^{On}
**the monastic
vows.** Lastly, persons of both sexes were authorized to take the monastic vows at the age of sixteen. The ordinance of Orleans, in 1560, had prohibited them from being taken by men before the age of twenty-five, and by girls under twenty. It is remarkable, that though the discipline of the council has not been admitted in other points, it has in this, notwithstanding the visible inconveniences which it produces.

<sup>Disputes
about
precedency.</sup> We should lose time in recounting the keen disputes, which arose between the French and Spanish ambassadors, on the subject of precedence in an assembly designed for settling the Christian faith, and the establishment of tranquillity among the nations. It is sufficient to know that the pope, though at first favourable to the Spaniards, at last gave it to the French.

<sup>Establish-
ment of the
seminaries.</sup> Of all that was done at Trent, with a view to reform the church, the establishment of seminaries seems to have produced the greatest effect, because it has had the strongest influence on principles and morals. The conduct of men is ordinarily decided by their education; and the priesthood requiring a great share of learning, as well as uncommon virtues, youth cannot be too soon formed for filling

its offices in a becoming manner ; but, in the midst of prejudices, superstition, and fanaticism, it is to be feared, that bigotry was instilled together with piety, enthusiasm with zeal, false principles with discipline, the spirit of chicanery and disputation with the common theology, and less of solid morality than external observances. In fact, many abuses long prevailed in the education given in the seminaries, though they were mixed with real advantages ; and, if we examine things accurately, we shall find this to be one of the principal reasons why the ecclesiastical ministry is still exposed to so many reproaches. Pius IV. founded the Roman seminary, which he put under the care of the Jesuits, and their system has served as a model to the rest.

This celebrated assembly, which is reckoned the twentieth general council, did not end till 1563. Some cardinals were of opinion, that it ought not to be hastily confirmed, because, said they, the observation of many of the canons being impracticable, scandals or dispensations would be endlessly multiplied. What appearance, for instance, was there that the plurality of benefices would be abolished by the bare authority of a decree? Yet Pius immediately published the bull of confirmation, prohibiting any paraphrase, commentary, or interpretation of the doctrine established by the council, and reserving to the Holy See the right of clearing up or determining whatever should be thought obscure or ambiguous. Never would the papal power have been at a higher pitch, if the bull had been attended with its full effect.

Pius IV.
confirms the
council
with
too great
precipita-
tion.

How it was received in the several states.

Portugal, Venice, and the duke of Savoy, received the whole without difficulty. The king of Spain showed the same submission in public, but gave private orders for the maintenance of the royal authority. In France, it was refused to publish the acts of the council; and the Cardinal de Lorraine, who had just before played the principal part there, in vain opposed his credit to the reasons of the Chancellor de l'Hospital and the parliament. We shall see the leaguers always insist upon this object.

Maximilian demands permission for priests to marry.

The Emperor Ferdinand I. laboured for a reunion of the two churches by conciliatory methods, which were preferable to anathemas and acts of violence. He prevailed on the pope to grant his subjects the communion in both kinds; and death having carried him off too soon, his son and successor, Maximilian II., demanded another more important point, the marriage of priests. The motives which he ordered his ambassadors to enforce will be found in historians; but the court of Rome had strong reasons to oppose it, and Pius was inflexible on that head.

The council and the Index shock the Protestants.

All hopes of bringing back the Protestants were now at an end. They despised a council from which miracles had been expected; and their indignation was increased by the *Index* of prohibited books, which the pope published a short time after. Even the sensible part of the Catholics could not but be grieved, when that *Index* cast a stain upon authors and performances worthy of the highest commendation.

Origin of Socinianism As the Protestants differed from each other, as well as from the Catholics, in the sense they

gave to the scriptures, which they submitted to the examination of reason ; as mysteries only became more embroiled by disputes ; and the human mind, floundering in profound darkness, falls from precipice to precipice ; there necessarily sprung up, sooner or later, some new and dangerous system, where the faith would be reduced almost to philosophical principles. Lelius Socinus, a native of Sienna, who had been driven from his country, and doubtless exasperated against religion by the inquisition, scattered the first seeds of it, and they were brought to maturity by his nephew Faustus. This man, dreading the persecution of Calvin at Geneva, went to preach his new doctrine in Poland, where, and in Transylvania, he founded the sect of the Socinians. It admits no mystery, and honours Jesus Christ as a sage designed by heaven to lead mankind in the path of duty and virtue. Catholics and Protestants looked with equal horror upon a doctrine which sapped the foundations of the Christian faith. Being proscribed in Poland, it has covertly spread among the sectaries in England and Holland, making little noise, because it is not calculated to kindle fanaticism and raise disturbances. Faustus Socinus died in 1604.

Could learning console mankind for the misfortunes caused by religious quarrels, the beginning of the sixteenth century would certainly furnish agreeable objects to fix our attention. Italy had her Ariosto, Machiavelli, Guicciardini, Bembo, Sadolet, Annibal Caro, Paul Jovius, and Sannazaro. France had Budæus, the Du Bellais, Ramus, Du Moulin,

which
rejects the
mysteries.

Lelius and
Faustus
Socinus.

Men of
letters in this
period.

and other learned men. Erasmus reflected lustre upon Holland, and deservedly gained universal admiration. In the North, Copernicus discovered the true system of the world, which Galileo afterwards placed in the clearest light; and which was condemned by the inquisition. Sleidan, in Germany, was an estimable historian. At the same time, Raphael and Michael Angelo produced their masterpieces. But the madness of superstition, which was now preparing to open more bloody scenes, scarce permitted the best geniuses to appreciate the advantages of literature, the sciences, and the arts, which polish mankind. Besides, *Machiavel's Prince*, notwithstanding the merit of that writer's other works, spread a detestable policy, proper to engender new crimes.

Raphael
and
Michael
Angelo.

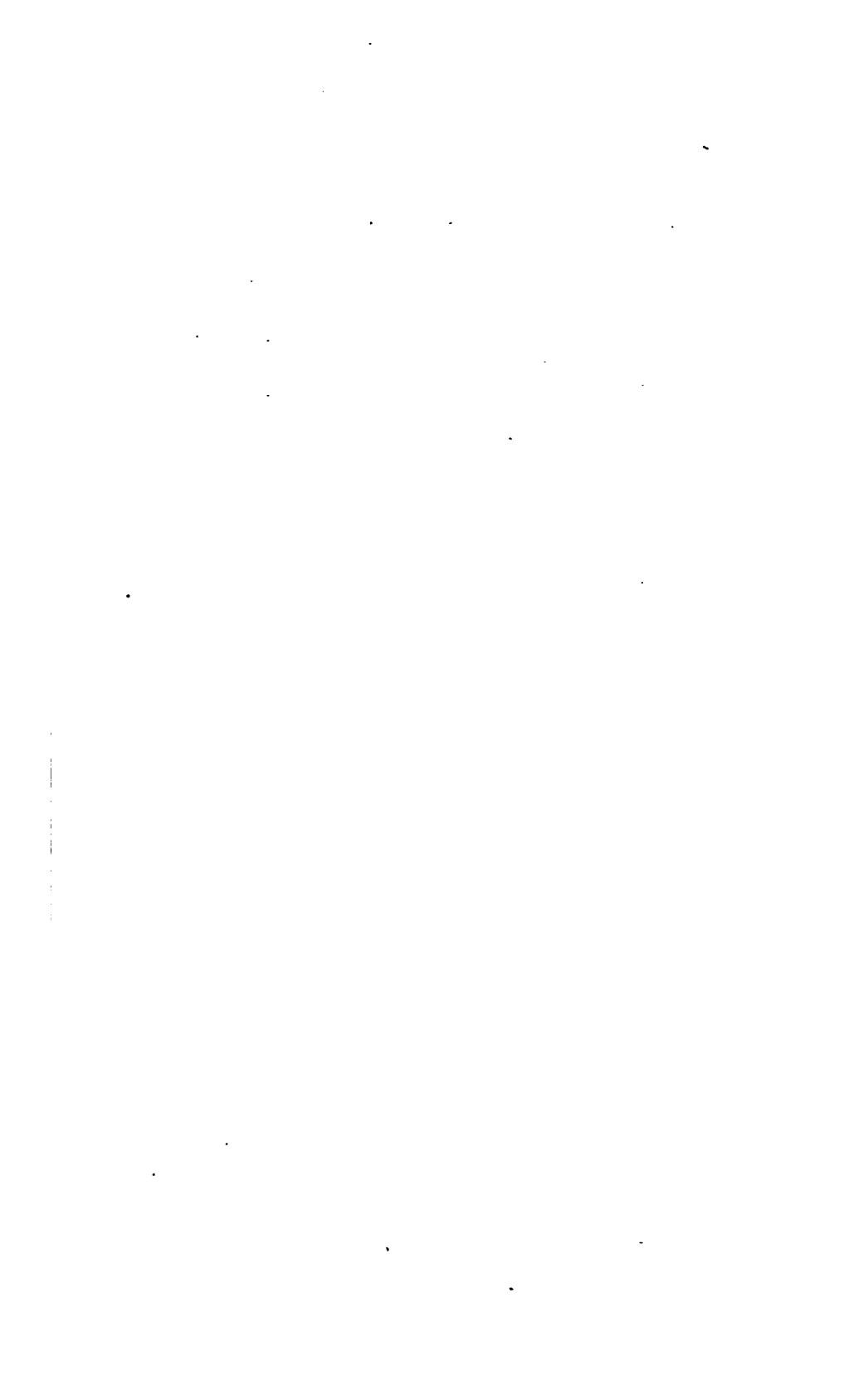
Ramus
persecuted
by
the doctors.

The persecution which Ramus suffered in France, is sufficient to show the prevalence of absurdity and barbarity, even in the schools, which seem to be the fountains whence reason ought to issue, and diffuse the true principles of humanity. Ramus, who was a philosopher, mathematician, and able linguist, first incurred the censure of the doctors, because he did not conform to their faulty pronunciation of the letter Q. He taught his scholars to pronounce *quāquam*, not *kankam*, and this was made a crime. His attacking Peripateticism was another of a more heinous nature; he was therefore accused of heresy. One of his rivals villainously caused him to be murdered on the night of St Bartholomew, of which we shall soon speak; and his body was insulted by the scholars. How many similar examples demonstrate the tyranny of prejudices, which a blind

attachment to a particular body uses its utmost endeavours to render sacred and eternal !

It was a great and lasting misfortune to religion, that enlightened and virtuous men, submissive to the faith, and indocile only to vulgar errors, filled with a noble zeal for truth and the public good, were attacked as its enemies. What extravagance was it to adorn the list of heretics and infidels with their names ! The libels and accusations against Erasmus, for instance, perhaps did less injury to him than to the Catholic religion.

Impudence
of
passionate
zealots.



ELEVENTH EPOCH.

RELIGIOUS WARS IN FRANCE. INSURRECTION OF THE UNITED PROVINCES AGAINST PHILIP II. ENGLAND FLOURISHING UNDER ELIZABETH.

FROM THE YEAR MDLIX. TO THE REIGN OF HENRY IV.

CHAPTER I.

REIGN OF FRANCIS II. BEGINNINGS OF THE DISTURBANCES ON ACCOUNT OF RELIGION IN FRANCE.

‘WE must now bid adieu to the noble principles and the great actions of our fathers,’ says the illustrious historian De Thou. ‘My present task is, to paint the disasters of the state, that is to say, our errors and our vices, which, these forty years, have desolated this once flourishing kingdom. It is with reluctance, and only in obedience to the laws of historical truth, that we shall lay open the ambition, the avarice, the treachery, and the pernicious counsels of some persons; for historians are the

Painful
and
dangerous
duty of
an
historian.

friends of truth, and therefore obliged to speak the truth, provided it be done with candour, without passion or bitterness; and there is such a distance between that time and the period in which I write, that I ought neither to be suspected of partiality nor hatred.' * I quote the words of that great man with pleasure, because, even in this age, historical truth is censured by some people, who are always ready to condemn what they are not acquainted with, or by a false policy prompted to conceal.

Factions
in
the court of
France.
Catherine
Medici.

The
Guises.

The
Bourbons.

Montmo-
renci.

From the death of Henry II., the court of France was filled with turbulent factions. Catherine Medici, mother of a king whose weakness both of body and mind rendered him incapable of every thing, joined to an excessive love of dominion, a soul capable of the greatest versatility, dissimulation, treachery, and the blackest crimes. She made no scruple of committing any wickedness, provided it served her purpose, and may be said to have breathed the very spirit of Machiavelism. The whole authority was in the hands of the Guises, uncles of the young queen Mary Stuart; and the ambition which preyed upon them, made even their merit a source of misfortune to their country. Two princes of the blood, Anthony de Bourbon, king of Navarre, and his brother Louis, prince of Condé, were filled with indignation at their want of credit, and but too much inclined to throw the state into confusion, for the sake of their private interest. To conclude the list, the Constable Montmorenci

* Thuani, Hist. sui Temp. l. 22, sub. fin.

and his powerful family had likewise pretensions and views incompatible with the tranquillity of the kingdom. Unhappily all of them used religion as the most proper instrument of faction. By it they kindled the civil wars, where ambition and fanaticism vied with one another, if I may use the expression, in exerting their fiercest rage upon the people, the kingdom, and even the kings.

Under Francis I. the new doctrine had spread greatly at court, as well as in the capital and the provinces. The taste for novelty would have been sufficient to gain it proselytes, though even the specious reasons of the Protestants, and, above all, the abuses which they attacked, had been less capable of unfixing mens minds. Calvin's *Christian Institutions*, containing the groundwork of his doctrines, were dedicated to the king; which proves that, though he sought an asylum out of the kingdom, he had a number of adherents round the throne. The severity of the edicts was certainly less owing to the zeal of Francis, than to the influence of conjunctures. His sister, the queen of Navarre, protected the religionists, while they were persecuted by the clergy and the parliament.

The massacre of Cabrieres and Merindol, and the executions which were imprudently multiplied by Henry II., irritated, instead of humbling, the spirit of the sect, as is always to be expected, when enthusiasm is in fermentation. Some aspired to martyrdom, which it was made no question that all were entitled to, who died for their doctrine; others, and these were the most numerous class, mingled with their zeal an ardour for liberty, and a thirst of

Progress
of
Protestant-
ism under
the
reign of
Francis I.

The evil
was
increased
under
Henry II.

revenge. They knew that the admiral de Coligny, and his brothers, d'Andelot and cardinal Chatillon, the constable's nephews, were firm friends to a reformation; and that the prince of Condé inclined to the same side. Such powerful protectors kept up the bold spirit inspired by religious persuasion.

*1559.
Execution
of
Anne du
Bourg under
Francis II.*

On the other side, the Guises, who governed the kingdom under Francis II., showing themselves zealous Catholics, the animosity of the Protestants was increased by new examples of rigour. Anne du Bourg, counsellor-clerk to the parliament, a man still more estimable for his morals and integrity than for his noble birth, was hanged as a heretic. He said to the people, at his execution, that he died for *the gospel of God*. It is impossible to describe the rage with which the populace was inflamed by that magistrate's death; from whose ashes, says De Thou, sprung up a poisonous crop of plots and rebellion.

*The
Calvinists
harassed and
provoked.*

Besides, the government incessantly harassed the Calvinists, for whom, by a dis honourable policy, snares were laid, that a handle might be taken to punish them. Far from correcting the superstitions that had crept into the worship, new observances still more superstitious were invented. At the corners of the streets were placed images of our Lady and the saints, with candles or tapers lighted up before them; round which the populace assembled, singing hymns, and forcing passengers to put money into little begging-boxes for the illumination. If a man did not bow to these images, and stop with marks of reverence while the fanatic people were paying this worship, he was either knocked down, dragged to prison,

or at least loaded with insults. Neglecting to repress such disorders, was authorizing them ; and the Protestants, transported with rage, only waited for a leader, to make the most daring attempts.

Soon after was formed the famous conspiracy of Amboise, of which the prince of Condé was the invisible mover, and which La Renaudie, a Protestant gentleman, conducted with equal address and activity. The principal object was, to take the government out of the hands of the Guises, who were hated on the double score of being foreigners and persecutors. It was projected to carry them off from Amboise, where the court then resided, to set Condé at the head of affairs, and secure liberty of conscience by an edict. The day was fixed for the execution of this design, and the measures so well concerted, that its success appeared infallible. But, while thousands of conspirators inviolably kept the secret, it was betrayed by an advocate, who, though a Calvinist, yet had sufficient regard for his country, to look with horror upon a rebellion. The duke of Guise, who was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom on this emergency, behaved with his usual prudence and courage. The Huguenots, a nickname ordinarily given to the Calvinists, coming up to the place of rendezvous from all the provinces, were surprised, massacred, or died by the hand of the executioner.

Misfortune could only more inflame a party so numerous and ardent. They must either be appeased, or new enterprises expected. A general assembly was therefore held at Fontainbleau, to deliberate on the exigencies of

1560.
Conspiracy
of
Amboise,

Coligny
presents
a petition
from
the
sectaries.

the state, where the admiral Coligni presented to the king a petition from the Calvinists, demanding the public exercise of their religion, that their particular meetings might no longer be imputed to them as a crime ; and declared that fifty thousand men were ready to sign it.

*Speeches of
two
moderate
bishops.*

Montluc, bishop of Valence, and Marillac, archbishop of Vienna, spoke with energy against the abuses which occasioned so many troubles and disorders ; exposed the vices of the Romish court, the ignorance and corruption of the national clergy, the avarice of the Italians, who, without residing in the kingdom, had one-third of the benefices in their hands ; the injustice of the persecution, which confounded the innocent with the guilty ; and, in one word, described the offences to religion, and the prevalence of prejudices, as the source of the public calamities. They condemned the seditious religionists, whom it was of importance to curb and punish, but observed, that it was wrong to treat as criminals a number of peaceable men, who adhered to their errors from a principle of sincerity ; that putting them to death had been a means of bringing their opinions into vogue ; that it excited in the spectators a curiosity to know, and often a desire to embrace, a doctrine which they saw maintained in the midst of the flames, by men of estimable characters and irreproachable morals. They insisted upon the necessity of a reformation, and concluded with proposing a national synod, if the pope refused to convoke a general council, with a prohibition of exerting the severity of the law, except against real

crimes. Such was the substance of the two discourses.

Coligni afterwards spoke in plain terms, complained of the guard that was placed about the king ; said, that the principal security of a monarch was to gain the affection of his subjects ; that nothing was more fatal to him than to dread his people, and be dreaded by them ; concluding, that the guard ought to be discharged, the states-general assembled, and methods contrived for extirpating errors from the church. The Lorraine princes acted consistently with their character. The duke of Guise protested, that it was not in the power of any council to make him change his religion ; and the cardinal warmly opposed the request of Coligni, which he affirmed to be seditious. However, the states were convoked, the persecution suspended, and the sectaries had time to breathe under a shadow of toleration. But, notwithstanding this, insurrections were made in some provinces ; so deeply were they already infected with the poison of resentment or fanaticism.

After the conspiracy of Amboise, the prince of Condé had been put under arrest ; though there were no proofs sufficient to convict him. Having made a spirited justification of himself in full council, where he obliged the duke of Guise to dissemble, and speak in his defence, he was no sooner set at liberty than he openly professed the Protestant religion. Being accused of a new conspiracy, and a resolution taken to destroy him, as well as to secure the person of his brother, the king of Navarre, who, notwithstanding his slowness and irresolu-

Complaints
and
demands of
Coligni.
Opposition
of
the Guises.

The king
of
Navarre
and
the prince of
Condé
summoned
before
the states of
Orleans.

tion, gave the greatest uneasiness to the princes of Lorraine ; they were both summoned to Orleans, the place destined for the meeting of the states ; to which they repaired with too great confidence, and met with that perfidy which their friends had clearly foreseen. Condé was arrested, tried by commissioners, and condemned to death, notwithstanding his refusal to answer, and his claim of the rights of the peerage. De Thou thinks that the arrêt was not signed. During the trial, the king of Navarre was kept prisoner at large.

Trial
of Condé.

CHAPTER II.

BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES IX. FIRST
CIVIL WAR ON ACCOUNT OF RELIGION.

IN the midst of these transactions, died Francis II., after a reign of seventeen months, and was succeeded by his brother Charles IX., not yet ten years of age. Then the scene changed at court ; and the troubles, under the appearance of attempts to appease them, were necessarily augmented by the variable conduct of the dangerous Catharine Medici ; all whose views were centered in dominion ; whose crafty soul could shift with every change of circumstances ; whose favourite maxim was, *divide and govern* ; and who, consequently, must alternately favour and oppose each of the contrary parties ; looking upon religion merely as a political machine, and regarding the state only as an instrument for promoting her private interest. In order to balance the overgrown power of the Guises, the prince of Condé was set at liberty, the king of Navarre named lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and the constable Montmorenci, who had been in disgrace ever since the commencement of the last reign, recalled with honour. Thus the keenest enmity was succeeded by appearances of con-

Francis II.
succeeded
by
Charles IX.

cord ; but hatred still continued rooted in the heart.

The Chancellor de l'Hôpital. Edict of Romorantin.

The man most capable of curing the public evils, if laws had sufficient strength to withstand the rage of factions, was the chancellor Michael de l'Hôpital, a man of virtue, superior to the prejudices and reigning vices of the times, a magistrate who would have been worthy of the Roman senate during the most glorious ages of the republic. By the edict of Romorantin, he had transferred the right of judging, in cases of heresy, from the parliament to the bishops, though that crime was capital. But there was no other way left to prevent the establishment of the Inquisition, which the cardinal de Lorraine was desirous of adding to the scourges under which France already groaned. Some moderate men were, however, to be found among the prelates ; and even the most severe were not so much to be dreaded as merciless inquisitors. At that time no choice was left but the least of two evils.

Speech of the Chancellor to the states.

At the states of Orleans, the chancellor supported his reputation by an eloquent speech, which he opened with explaining the purpose of such assemblies, and the utility they might be of, by instructing the sovereigns in their duties. ' Duties at present neglected,' said he, ' because kings neither see nor hear but by the eyes and ears of others ; because they live, govern, and determine the most important affairs, only according to the opinion or caprice of their ministers ; because surrounded with snares, which are laid for them on every side, princes, though destined to guide others, are themselves guided by the persons about them.'

He afterwards gave a picture of the abuses introduced into all the orders, blamed the excesses in religious matters, and added, that those odious names of Lutherans, Huguenots, and Papists, ought to be obliterated, as savouring of the old Guelf and Gibeline factions, and the glorious name of Christian only retained ; at the same time exhorting the members of the assembly to lay aside all selfish views, all private affections, and freely offer what they thought expedient for the kingdom.

But the want of harmony in the states, the rivalry among the three orders, the force of prejudice, and party interest, raised invincible obstacles against the chancellor's zeal. One party inveighed against the ignorance and disorderly lives of the clergy, and even demanded, that great part of the ecclesiastical revenues should be appropriated to the discharge of the public debts. On the other side, the orator of the clergy went so far as to require, that whoever had presented, or should hereafter present, a petition in favour of the Protestants, should be punished as a heretic ; but he was obliged to make Coligni reparation for that insult. All acts of violence, on account of religion, were made capital ; and a statute was enacted, restoring the liberties and properties of those who had been deprived of them for the same cause. But statutes were too weak to keep their ground against the passions that were then let loose. The only lasting change made by the states of Orleans was, confining the administration of justice to men of the long robe : the bailiffs and seneschals, who were gentle-

No
harmony
in
the states.
Ordinances
then
made.

men of the sword, were replaced by their lieutenants.

1561.
Dangerous
conference
at
Poissy.

As neither the Catholics nor Protestants would make the least concession, Catharine Medici, who was then mistress of the government, proposed public conferences ; a dangerous method, only calculated to expose the true doctrine to the hazard of an attack, without ever putting an end to the disputes. Yet, notwithstanding the opposition of the court of Rome, the cardinal de Lorraine caused that expedient to be adopted, in order to have an opportunity for gratifying his vanity, by a display of his eloquence and learning. He disputed therefore in the famous conference of Poissy with Theodore Beza, a disciple of Calvin ; but each claimed the honour of the victory ; both obstinately persisted in their opinions, and the conference only served to exasperate their hatred. Lainez, general of the Jesuits, in that conference gave to the Calvinists the epithets of apes, foxes, and monsters, and loudly censured the queen for intermeddling in ecclesiastical affairs. Notwithstanding which, by the credit of the cardinals de Lorraine and Tournon, he obtained the first establishment of his society in form of a college. However, it was at first only tolerated in Paris, though it had been ordered to be admitted by Henry II.

Andacious
behaviour
of
Lainez.

The
Jesuits
opposed by
the
bishop
and
university
of
Paris.

Eustace du Bellai, bishop of the first city in the kingdom, being consulted on the admittance of the Jesuits, declared, that the greatest dangers were threatened from that society, as well as from all the new orders ; that it seemed to be instituted, rather to raise troubles

than to restore peace in the church. A celebrated process was raised against them by the university of Paris, where Stephen Pasquier, pleading in opposition to them, addressed the judges in the following terms : ‘ You will one day, though too late, reproach yourselves with having been too credulous, when you see order and public tranquillity overturned, not only in this kingdom, but in the whole Christian world, by the tricks, the frauds, the superstitions, the dissimulation, the cheats, the impositions, and detestable artifices of the new society.’ It is remarkable, that all the reasons alleged at that time against the establishment of the Jesuits were used in our days for abolishing the order, and their answers have likewise been still the same.

The king of Navarre had supported the Protestants, without openly declaring in favour of their sect ; but the court of Rome and the king of Spain attempted to draw him over to the contrary party, by an offer to restore Navarre, or give him Sardinia in exchange ; and, duped by these vain promises, he threw himself into the faction, which he had always filled with disquiet, joining the triumvirate, composed of the duke of Guise, the old constable, and the marechal de St André, all zealous Catholics, at least in appearance. Whatever may be alleged by F. Daniel, it is certain that the conference of Poissy contributed little to the change in the policy of that prince. He wanted something very different from argument to induce him.

In order to counterbalance so strong a faction, the queen showed more favour to the <sup>Assembly
of
magistrates
for the</sup> Calvinists. The edict of July had forbidden

restoration
of
order and
peace.

Speech of
the
chancellor in
favour
of
toleration.

illegal assemblies, but they did not observe it; and frequently, even the privileges allowed them were imputed to them as crimes. Quarrels, reproaches, acts of violence, being continued without interruption, the principal members of the parliament were assembled, in order to be consulted on the means of restoring good order. The discourse delivered to them by the chancellor is preserved in De Thou, and deserves perusal. He refuted those who desired that a positive declaration should be made in favour of one of the two parties. ‘It amounts to saying,’ observed he, ‘that the king ought to arm one party to attack the other. Would not this be opposing the limbs against each other to destroy the whole body? Would it not be a thing unworthy not only of Christianity, but of humanity? The matter in question is to regulate the state, not to establish the faith. Many people may have a sincere regard for their country who are not at all Christians; and by separating from the church, they do not cease being good subjects to the king. We can live in peace with those who observe ceremonies and usages different from ours.’

A
moderate
edict
registered by
force.
1562.

After the deliberations, appeared the edict of January, by which the Protestants were allowed the exercise of their religion, except in cities, and with equitable modifications. But three letters of jussion were required to enable it to be registered, even with this additional clause, ‘*Till the decision of a general council on the controverted points.*’ The prejudices of the magistracy were not the least obstacles to the beneficent views of the chancellor.

Tranquillity would have been at least restored, if religious feuds paid any attention to laws in the heat of fanaticism ; but an unforeseen event suddenly revived them, and dissipated all hopes of peace. The duke of Guise travelling through Vassy in Champagne, part of his train insulted the Calvinists, who were attending a sermon in a barn, and a fray beginning, he ran to appease the tumult ; but being struck with a stone, his attendants, in a fit of rage, killed about sixty persons. This massacre, which was greatly exaggerated by public report, at last determined the sectaries to take arms ; and the prince of Condé put himself at their head, under pretence that Catherine Medici called him to the assistance of the king, of whose person the king of Navarre and the triumvirate had made themselves masters. Such was the beginning of the civil wars, of which we shall only point out the principal events.

Condé seized Orleans, which he made his place of arms, and got possession of Rouen, with a number of towns. He gave up Havre to Elizabeth, queen of England, in order to obtain her assistance. Let us not be surprised, that a civil war, where the spirit of rebellion was varnished with the colours of religion, stifled every sentiment of regard for the public weal. If I may be allowed the expression, there were now no more Frenchmen, they had no more a country ; but the whole kingdom was filled with fanatics, transported with inveterate rage against each other, or seditious men, who sacrificed the interest of France and of religion to their own fortune. The parlia-

The
massacre
of
Vassy arms
the
Calvinists.

First civil
war
carried on
with
atrocious
cruelty.

ment published a proscription against the religionists, commanding the Catholics to pursue and kill them without fear of being brought to justice. The age of Marius and Sylla seemed to be returned ; surprisals and massacres were renewed every moment, and almost every town in the kingdom was a theatre of blood and horrors. Thus was France mangled during a long period of mistaken conduct.

Siege
of Rouen.
Battle
of Dreux.

Nothing deserves more attention than the tragical fate of the authors of those dreadful calamities. The king of Navarre retook Rouen, but died in that city of a wound which he had received during the siege. The marshal de St André was slain at the battle of Dreux, which was gained by the duke of Guise, who commanded under the constable. A remarkable circumstance in this battle is, that both generals, the prince of Condé and Montmorenci, were taken prisoners. The prince slept in the same bed with the duke, by whom he had been defeated.

1568.
Francis
duke
of Guise
assassinated
by
Poltrot.

The latter marched to make himself master of Orleans, and had already taken one of the suburbs by assault, when he was assassinated by Poltrot, a gentleman of the Calvinistic persuasion, who thought he served God by avenging his sect. Thus died Francis de Guise, who, according to the testimony of De Thou, was *the greatest man of his age, even by the confession of his enemies.* The ambition of the cardinal de Lorraine, rather than his own inclination, had made him the head of a party, and conjunctures had hurried him from one excess to another, without obscuring the lustre of his magnanimity and heroic qualities. Great men

are most to be dreaded when they swerve from their duty.

The violence of the storms was a little abated by an edict of pacification, which contained an amnesty for what was past ; declared that the prince of Condé and his adherents had nothing in view but the service of the king ; confirmed liberty of conscience ; and ordered, that in every bailiwick a town should be assigned, where the Protestants should have the public exercise of their religion. But these privileges were soon restrained. The queen amused Condé with the hopes of the same honours and power that had been enjoyed by the king of Navarre. This was the real method, if the promise made to him had been executed, to draw him off from a party which was always dangerous.

The rage of party and fanaticism being suspended, the French seemed to be animated by a patriotic zeal to retake Havre from the English. Elizabeth having refused to give it up till Calais was restored, war was immediately declared, Havre was taken, Calais was not restored, and the hostilities ended in accommodation. Events had happened in England and Scotland, which, to avoid confusion, I shall collect into one view.

Pacification
favourable
to the
Calvinists.

Havre
retaken from
the
English.

CHAPTER III.

MARY STUART, TILL HER IMPRISONMENT. REVOLT OF THE FLEMINGS. SEQUEL OF THE CIVIL WARS IN FRANCE.

Progress
of
Calvinism
in
Scotland.

The Scots, at that time one of the most ignorant and unpolished nations in Europe, were on that account extremely susceptible of fanaticism. The new doctrine had insinuated itself among them in the reign of James V. Mary de Guise, the widow of that prince, facilitated its progress by her moderation and her forbearance of the reformed, by which means she opened for herself a way to the regency ; but the ambition of her brothers, who had too much power in France, forced her into measures contrary to her inclination. They had formed a project for placing the young queen, Mary Stuart, on the throne of Elizabeth ; for effecting which, the ruin of the Protestants in Scotland appeared necessary ; the toleration therefore ceased, and they were irritated by persecution. Some powerful and untractable noblemen were then at their head, and religious zeal was inflamed and principally strengthened by a spirit of liberty or independence.

In 1557, the sectaries formed a league against the *Congregation of Satan*; thus did they design the Romish church, while they styled their own league the *Congregation of Jesus*; and engaged to defend one another for the maintenance and propagation of the word of God against the perverse, who wanted to disturb their holy league; renouncing all devilish abominations and idolatries.

John Knox, a Scotchman, and violent disciple of Calvin, had come from Geneva to fan this fierce flame. In a popular tumult, the images were broken, the churches plundered, the priests assaulted at the altar, and the monasteries demolished. Dr Robertson, an excellent historian, puts it out of all doubt, that the insurrections originated from the violent measures pursued by the government, at the instigation of the princes of Lorraine, and that the leaders of the party had principally in view to secure themselves from the yoke of France.

Their queen, Mary Stuart, who was married to the dauphin, Francis II., by the advice of the Guises, her uncles, had assumed the arms and title of queen of England. She did not acknowledge the legitimacy of Elizabeth's birth; and this denial gave her a claim upon that crown, of which she was presumptive heiress. Elizabeth must therefore look upon her as an enemy, and was interested in fomenting the troubles of Scotland. Accordingly, she sent assistance to the fanatical congregation. The English laid siege to Leith, which was defended by a French garrison; and the ministry of France was obliged to sign the hu-

The
Congrega-
tion.
1557.

John Knox,
disciple of
Calvin.

The
Reformers
supported
by
Elizabeth.

<sup>Treaty
of
Edinburgh.</sup> miliating treaty of Edinburgh in 1560, by which Mary Stuart and her husband agreed to renounce the title of king and queen of England, and obliged themselves neither to make peace nor war without the consent of the parliament, which was likewise authorized to take cognizance of the affairs of religion.

<sup>Change
of religion.</sup> The parliament abolished the Romish worship under very rigorous penalties; for the spirit of intolerance was common to both parties. Episcopacy was suppressed, as in the republics of Geneva and Switzerland; and Knox caused the *Presbyterian* church government to be established, in which the maxims and usages of the primitive Christians were thought to be revived. This is another effect of the persecuting zeal of the Guises.

<sup>Mary Stuart
attacked
by
fanaticism.</sup> After the death of Francis II., Mary Stuart having lost her influence, and being exposed to the peevish humours of the queen-mother, quitted France with reluctance, in order to return to a kingdom where barbarism was universally prevalent. Notwithstanding her wit, her charms, her sweetness of temper, and her care to avoid giving offence, she was in a short time exposed to the hatred and outrage of fanaticism, because she was a Catholic. Knox, who always assumed the tone of a prophet, publicly gave her the name of Jezebel; quoted to her the examples of Phineas, Samuel, and Elijah, as proofs that holy zeal may prompt to just acts of violence; and gave her to understand, that the throne might be overturned at the pleasure of superstition. Some time after, Mary committing great faults, which belied her former prudent conduct, in a manner gave

herself up a victim to the ferocious hatred of her enemies.

She had married her cousin, Henry Lord Darnley, son to the earl of Lenox, and a native of England. Elizabeth, who always looked upon her with an eye of jealousy, though she concealed it under the mask of a feigned reconciliation, could not sincerely disapprove this match, which spared her the uneasiness of seeing her rival married to a sovereign, and affected to oppose it, but in vain. Darnley, graced with the title of king, without the concurrence of parliament, made but an ill return to Mary's favours and love. Inconstant, debauched, and haughty, he lost her esteem, cooled her affection, and revenged himself for her slights in the most atrocious manner.

Rizzio, a musician of Piedmont, who had risen to the post of the queen's secretary, was suspected of an amour with his mistress, though he was of a very disagreeable figure. Besides, he but too well deserved the hatred entertained against him, by the insolence with which he abused his favour. One day, while at table with that unfortunate princess, he was assassinated in her presence by some noblemen, in 1566; and their crime, in which the king had a share, was aggravated, as an advanced pregnancy exposed Mary's life to greater hazard. However, she was safely delivered of a son, named James, who afterwards united the crowns of Scotland and England.

She was afterwards attached, by a fatal passion, to earl Bothwel, a man universally censured for his vices; and then on a sudden seemed to be reconciled to the king, who was

She
marries
Henry Lord
Darnley.

Murder
of
Rizzio.

Murder
of
the king.

^{The queen marries Bothwell.} murdered soon after. Bothwel was accused by the public voice, but was cleared by an irregular trial ; after which he carried off the queen, and married her. Mary then became an object of detestation, as his accomplice. The Scots rebelled, threw her into prison, and obliged her to abdicate the crown ; soon after which, she escaped, and took refuge in England, 1568. We shall see how she was treated there by Elizabeth.

^{Wise government of Elizabeth.} This princess governed her kingdom with admirable prudence, turning her attention to the improvement of the navy, commerce, agriculture, and, in short, every object of political administration ; but in Mary she beheld only a rival that eclipsed her in beauty, and gave her uneasiness. She had not sufficient generosity to sacrifice her interest to virtue ; and, notwithstanding her great qualities, was weak enough to give way to the excesses of little female jealousy.

Let us return to the Continent, where religious quarrels, which the prudence of Elizabeth found means to prevent in her own kingdom, unhinged the other states.

^{Philip II. in vain attempts to establish the inquisition at Naples and Milan.} The superstitious despotism of Philip II. naturally tended to produce rebellions in every part of his dominions. This prince, whose thirst of heretical blood could not be allayed, was desirous that the inquisition should be invested with the same power in Italy and Flanders, as in Spain. But the Milanese and Neapolitans refused to admit that tribunal, whose yoke he endeavoured to impose on them ; and the love of liberty being more congenial to the

Flemings, produced more dreadful convulsions.

As the Protestant doctrine had made great seditions in the Low Countries, Philip turned his merciless zeal principally on that quarter. The establishment of thirteen new bishoprics in these provinces by Paul IV., was evidently designed to harass men's consciences, and became an additional burden to the people. Margaret, duchess of Parma, the sister of Philip, and governess of the country, was guided by the advice of the Cardinal Granvelle, archbishop of Malineo, whose haughty and inflexible spirit made him an object of hatred. Murmurs broke out, and the severe orders of the court of Spain heightened the mischief. The observation of the decrees enacted by the council of Trent was enjoined, and violence used to enforce them. At last, a sedition was raised of a more dangerous nature, as it was headed by two men equally illustrious for their merit and their birth, William Nassau, prince of Orange, and Count Egmond; both of them well skilled in the art of setting in motion the springs of religion, whence the politics of ambitious men derived such strength.

At that time, Catharine Medici made a progress through France, with her son Charles IX., under pretence of the public good; and they were met at Bayonne by the queen of Spain, sister to Charles, accompanied by the celebrated duke of Alva, who soon after was the scourge of the Flemings. The design of this journey was a conference, which had been long before agreed upon. Adriani, the continuator of Guicciardini, says, that it was held

1565.
Conference
at
Bayonne,
which
alarms the
Protestants.

at the solicitation of the pope, who proposed that Philip himself should be present. Every thing was carried on in the most private and mysterious manner; but the Protestants thought they had discovered the secret, and believed, with sufficient probability, that a scheme was laid for their destruction. Suspicious, discontented, and, notwithstanding the edict of pacification, subjected to vexations in France, as well as other countries, nothing more was requisite to make them form new projects of rebellion. How great was the infatuation of governments! They wanted to exterminate the subjects, that they might have Catholics!

*Death
of
Pius IV.*

The court of Rome likewise gave the sectaries new causes of resentment. Pius IV., a voluptuous pope, was lately dead. After the example of his predecessors, he had indulged the madness of nepotism, and lavished his favours on the Borromei, his sister's sons; one of whom was Cardinal Charles Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, a holy prelate, whose memory is honoured by the church. The new pope, Ghisleri, Pius V., a man of obscure birth, and a temper inexorably rigid, was better fitted for spreading terror, than governing with moderation. He had formerly been a Dominican and grand inquisitor under Paul IV., in which office he showed himself the worthy minister of the violent zeal of that pontiff. Scarce was he seated on the Papal throne, when he caused some illustrious personages to be burned as heretics; Carnesecchi, whom, though honoured with the friendship of Cosmo Medici, that prince was weak enough to put into his hands; Zanetti, in the same manner given up by the senate of

*Violent zeal
of
Pius V.*

Venice ; and the learned Palearius, whose crime was, having called the Inquisition a *danger held over the heads of men of letters*. A severe edict, which he published against the courtezans, would infallibly have produced the greatest disorders among the numerous inhabitants of Rome, who lived in celibacy, if it had not been mitigated on the representations of men of prudence. We may immediately judge that this pope, who is sufficiently known by his bull *In Caena Domini*, published in 1568, was ill calculated for governing the church in such pressing exigencies ; and that the Romish worship became every day more odious to the Protestants.

Those of the Low Countries, who were styled *Gueux*, beggars, lost all hopes of peace. The inquisition, the new bishoprics, the laws to force conscience, the vexations, the torments, and death, to which they were subjected, seemed to provoke a rebellion ; and their petitions being fruitless, they gave way to the utmost rage of fanaticism. Philip II. held a grand council, to deliberate on the means of putting a stop to the sedition. The most prudent in vain proposed gentle methods ; he followed his inclination, and the sanguinary counsels of the duke of Alva, Alvarez of Toledo, whom he despatched at the head of an army, *to avenge the cause of God, and the honour of the crown*. This was sending a tyrant, who would either exterminate the people, or make them furious and unconquerable. The prince of Orange had prudently retired into Germany ; but the Counts Egmond and Horn refused to follow him, from too great confidence in their credit and

1567.
Revolt of
the
Gueux
in
Flanders.
The Duke
of
Alva.

power. In a short time they were arrested ; the prisons were crowded ; the gibbet, the scaffold, and the stake, filled every heart with horror.

Counts
Egmond and
Horn
executed.

In a word, the Spanish inquisition being consulted by the king, declared, that the whole inhabitants of the Low Countries, except a small number, were apostates, heretics, and guilty of high treason ; particularly the nobles, who had presented petitions, or published complaints, against the holy inquisition. This decision was adopted for a rule ; and Count Egmond, to whom Philip was principally indebted for the victories of St Quintin and Gravelines, was executed together with Horn. Their blood, mingled with that of an infinite number of other victims, may be said to have cemented the foundations of the famous republic of Holland, which we shall soon see formed.

New
religious
wars
in France.

France likewise experienced anew the horrors of religious wars. A body of six thousand Swiss, whom the queen-mother had raised under a false pretext, probably with a view to oppress the religionists, irritated them the more, as they had already many reasons to complain ; they therefore again took arms, but were defeated at St Denis, where the Constable Montmorenci, after gaining the victory, fell covered with wounds, at the age of near fourscore. The following year, 1568, peace was concluded, but lasted only six months. Catharine Medici, who broke all her conventions, having formed a resolution to put Conde and the admiral Coligni under confinement, the Protestants again rebelled. The duke of Anjou, brother to the king, under the direction of the Mare-

1568.
Battle
of
Jarnac.

chal de Tavannes, gained over them the battle of Jarnac, where the famous Condé, chief of the party, was slain in cool blood, a prince worthy of the greatest encomiums, had he not been guilty of rebellion. The young prince of Bearn, Henry IV., son to the king of Navarre, then only sixteen years of age, was declared chief of the League. Coligni and Dandolo found resources in their genius, their activity, and the Protestants of Germany. The duke of Anjou gained a second victory at Moncontour, but it was attended with scarce any advantageous consequences.

Though the Calvinists had lost four battles, they seem to have dictated the terms of peace. By the treaty of St Germain, they were granted some cautionary towns, and, among others, Rochelle, and declared capable of holding all offices. Thus they obtained much more than the liberty of conscience, which was at first the sole object of their wishes. To judge of the blindness of the courts and zealots of the sixteenth century, we need only make a plain reflexion. What ill effects could have resulted from indulgence, when the progress and fanaticism of the sects seemed to make it necessary? It would have deadened the spirit of fanaticism, prevented wars, saved the effusion of Christian blood, and undoubtedly, the church and the crowned heads would not have been so great losers, because persecutions always produced insurrections. We shall soon see the wounds of religion and the state opened afresh by the massacre of St Bartholomew.

1570.
Treaty
of
St Germain.

CHAPTER IV.

FAMOUS WAR AGAINST THE TURKS. PIUS V. MAS-SACRE OF ST BARTHOLOMEW. DEATH OF CHARLES IX.

Disgrace
of the
chancellor
de
l'Hospital

CATHARINE MEDICI, formerly so favourable to the Protestants, because she stood in need of them, now thought only of working their destruction, because she feared them. Accordingly, the chancellor de l'Hospital was disgraced in the year 1568. Being a friend to peace, from love to his country, his religion was suspected, and his wise counsels could not be endured. Pius V. had permitted the king to alienate church lands to the amount of fifty thousand crowns *per annum*, on condition that he would employ that sum in exterminating the heretics, or forcing them to submission ; but l'Hospital showed the inhuman tendency of this bull, and, according to De Thou, that brought on his disgrace ; an unlucky omen to the kingdom !

Bull
In Cena
Domini.

The bull *In Cena Domini* then appeared, which excommunicated all princes who should exact from the clergy any contribution whatever ; as also, whoever should believe the pope subject to a general council, or appeal to a council from his decrees ; annihilated the rights of the civil power, and reserved to the Roman

pontiff the privilege of absolving from numberless anathemas with which it was filled. It seemed as if Pius V. had wanted to make the Catholics, as well as the heretics, shake off the Roman yoke. Philip II., though the most superstitious of princes, rose in opposition to this bull, and forbid its being executed under severe penalties. The popes have published it anew every year, down to the present pontificate ; but they have wounded themselves with this dangerous weapon.

The war carried on by the Turks had long been added to the civil and religious dissensions with which Europe was distracted ; and the Christians chose rather to destroy one another for some articles of belief, than to unite their strength against the mortal enemy of Christendom. The Spaniards had a little before taken some places in the kingdom of Algiers, when Soliman sent a fleet of three hundred sail, in 1565, against the isle of Malta. This famous expedition cost him forty thousand men. The grand-master, De la Valette, a Frenchman, like D'Aubusson and Lisle Adam, who had gained immortal renown at Rhodes, had the glory of driving out the Mussulmen ; but the following year they made themselves masters of Scio, ravaged the coasts of Italy, and Soliman took by assault the town of Zigeth in Hungary.

War
against the
Turks.
Siege
of
Malta.

He died three days before the taking of the citadel, at the age of seventy-six ; a hero endowed with a greater share of virtue, and even of knowledge, than most potentates of his time. He had instructed himself in the school of history, and made Cæsar's Commentaries his par-

Death
of
Soliman.

ticular study, having caused them to be translated into his own language. He reigned over vast territories, extending from Algiers to the Euphrates. Hungary, of which he made an entire conquest, opened to him the gates of Germany.

The Turks
take
the isle of
Cyprus.

His son, Selim II., took from the Venetians the isle of Cyprus, in 1571 ; when the senator Bragadino, governor of Famagusta, was flayed alive by the Turks, in revenge for the dreadful loss they suffered in the siege of that place ; amounting, it is said, to no less than fourscore thousand men.

1571.
League
formed
against them
by
Pius V.

Pius V., who stirred up insurrections in England, excommunicated Elizabeth, and declared her deprived of the crown. Though, by his bull *In Cœna Domini*, he seemed to have denounced war against all Christian princes, yet he formed laudable schemes, and had entered into a league with the king of Spain and the Venetians, for the preservation of so important an island. Marc-Antonio Colonna commanded the pope's gallies, and prince Doria those of Philip. The fleet put to sea ; but differences arising between the commanders, and the operations proceeding slowly, it met with no success. Pius soon after reviving the sacred league, a formidable armament of two hundred gallies, and several other vessels, was suddenly fitted out. The celebrated Don John of Austria, a natural son of Charles V., was named admiral in chief : Colonna and the Venetian Veniero had each their command.

Battle
of
Lepanto.

The Turkish fleet, which guarded the coasts of the Morea, and consisted of about two hundred and fifty gallies, was attacked near the

Gulf of Lepanto, and entirely defeated, with the loss of more than one hundred and fifty gallies ; yet the victors gained nothing but glory. On this occasion, Philip, notwithstanding all his dissimulation, discovered some marks of the jealousy which he entertained of his brother's merit. *Don John has been lucky*, said he, *but he has run a great risk.* The pope, who entertained a much more lively sense of the success of that glorious day, cried out, *There was a man sent of God, and his name was John.* Two years after, Don John made himself master of Tunis ; a conquest which Spain enjoyed only a single year.

It is said that the death of Pius V. was celebrated at Constantinople by three days rejoicings ; so formidable had that pope made himself to the Turks. He invited the Persians and Arabians to join in the alliance against them, telling these nations in his letters, that the difference of religion ought not to hinder them from uniting with the Christians ; that men who were connected by a common interest ought not to be looked upon as disunited, either by difference of opinions or distance of place ; a maxim very remarkable in the mouth of the most dreadful enemy of the heretics. It seems, then, that the common interest of society, humanity, and Christianity, could not unite Christians among themselves, who were divided on some points of doctrine, or the mode of worship ; while political interest might connect them with nations who were enemies to the Christian faith ! These absurd contradictions, so frequently met with in history, and so well calculated to display the influence of

1572.
Alliance
proposed
by the pope
to
the Arabians
and
Persians.

passion and prejudice, appear to me to be a source of instruction for all who desire to be acquainted with the secret springs of the human heart.

Pius V.
makes a
grand duke
of
Tuscany.

A dispute for precedence arising between Cosmo Medici and the duke of Ferrara, it was terminated by Pius V., who, in 1569, created the former *grand duke of Tuscany*, in virtue of the power which God had given him, and *because, in quality of pastor, it belonged to him to examine who deserved extraordinary honours by their zeal for the Holy See*; when, notwithstanding the reclamation of the emperor Maximilian, Cosmo, graced with this title, went to Rome, in order to be crowned, and take an oath to the pope, as his liege lord.

False
reasons
to
authorize
this step.

The cardinal Commendon, an able negotiator, used his utmost endeavours to justify this step of Pius V.; quoting as authorities the many crowns that had been bestowed by the popes. He even had the boldness to affirm, that they had transferred the empire of the East to the West; that they had established the electors; and that Pope Zachary had degraded Chilperic, and made Pepin king of France. The affair was accommodated for a sum of money in 1574, under the pontificate of Gregory XIII., Buoncompagno, successor of Pius.

Conscience
still
forced.

If it is strange that the court of Rome audaciously maintained her old pretensions, though attacked on every side, it is still more wonderful that, after so many fatal experiments, the practice of forcing consciences, and combating heresy with persecution, should be obstinately continued. On one side, the duke of Alva reduced the Flemings to despair; built the cit-

del of Antwerp to oppress them ; and erected for himself a boastful monument of brass, where, trampling on the Protestants, he boasted of having secured the triumph of religion, and the peace of the provinces. On the other side, the massacre of St Bartholomew was perpetrated in France, and filled up the measure of horrors.

The Protestants were caressed, in order to smother them. Margaret, sister of Charles IX. being offered to young Henry, king of Navarre, this marriage had brought him to Paris with his cousin the prince of Condé, and drawn after them the principal leaders of the party. Even the admiral Coligni had suffered himself to be dazzled by the hopes of a war against Philip II. on account of the revolt in the Low Countries. As he ardently desired to revenge the persecutions which the Calvinists suffered from that monarch, this flattering illusion had lulled his prudence asleep. In a word, all animosity seemed extinguished in the midst of feasts and diversions. But queen Catharine and her son Charles were capable of perpetrating the blackest acts of tyranny.

A letter extant in De Thou, which was received by the admiral at Paris, and which filled him with indignation, will show the suspicions and fears of some less credulous Protestants. The substance of it is as follows : ‘ Remember it is a maxim received among the Papists as a point of religion, *that faith ought not to be kept with heretics.* Remember that, in their eyes, Protestants are heretics, who will be eternally objects of their hatred, and that the queen mother wants to destroy them. Re-

*Marriage
of
the king
of
Navarre.*

*Letter to
the
Admiral
Coligni.
Suspicions
of the
Protestants.*

member that a woman, by birth a foreigner, an Italian, descended from a family of popes, naturally treacherous, must proceed to the greatest extremities against her enemies. Reflect what kind of education the king has received. To swear, to forswear, to debauch maidens and married women ; to disguise his faith, his religion, and his designs ; to compose his countenance ; are things which, from early youth, he has been taught to look upon as a sport. And to accustom him to shed the blood of his people, it was made his diversion even in his infancy, to see animals slaughtered and dismembered. A faithful disciple of Machiavelli, and persuaded that the Protestants have formed a design to deprive him of his crown and life, he will never suffer men who have taken arms against him, whether justly or unjustly, to enjoy the peace which he hath granted,' &c. Were these distrusts ill grounded ? We shall judge of them by the fact.

1572.
Massacre
of St
Bartholo-
mew.

The marriage of the king of Navarre was celebrated on the seventeenth of August, 1572, and on the twenty-second Coligni was wounded by a shot from an harquebuss as he was going to his house ; upon which Charles IX. paid him a visit, promised to punish the assassin, and gave marks of the most lively sorrow. Yet on the night between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth began, by order of the court, a dreadful massacre of the Protestants. The duke of Guise, Henry the Balafré, or *the Slashed*, son of Francis, went in person to the Admiral's gate, and caused that great man to be murdered. The streets, the houses streamed with blood. The rage of the murderers spared neither age

nor sex, and even confounded the Catholics with the Huguenots. The king had the barbarity to fire upon his unhappy subjects, and afterwards beheld with pleasure the body of Coligny insulted by the populace. Orders were sent for perpetrating the same butchery in the provinces. In a word, historians reckon at least sixty thousand, some one hundred thousand victims of this infernal slaughter; yet there were some commandants of provinces courageous enough to refuse being the butchers of their fellow-subjects: their disobedience makes at present their encomium.

To crown this horrid act, nothing was wanting but in a manner to affix to it the seal of law and religion. The king declared that every thing was done by his orders, alleging, for a pretext, an imaginary plot formed by the sectaries against the royal family. The parliament ordered an annual procession to celebrate the deliverance of the kingdom. A medal was struck with this legend, *PIETY PUT THE SWORD INTO THE HAND OF JUSTICE*; a legend which justice and piety ought to have proscribed as a libel. At Rome and in Spain, the massacre was made a subject of public rejoicings; but, at least, these ought to have been suspended till the consequences of the event could be determined.

What prudence ought to have foreseen, now came to pass. Calvinism, instead of being destroyed by the massacre, became more formidable by despair and a thirst of revenge. A fourth civil war was kindled. Rochelle made a desperate defence against the duke of Anjou, who lost almost his whole army before the

This
barbarity
authorized
and
celebrated,

1573.
The
Calvinists
become
more
formidable.

place. The town of Sancerre held out a siege of more than seven months, and the inhabitants showed themselves so many heroes of fanaticism. It was found necessary to grant them liberty of conscience. The inhabitants of Rochelle not only obtained an advantageous capitulation for themselves, but caused the towns of Nismes and Montauban to be comprehended in it. Charles IX., who, from the time of the massacre, had been a prey to disease, died in the midst of the troubles in 1574, at the age of twenty-four, without issue male. His tutor Amiot had given him a taste for learning, which naturally inspires humanity ; but his mother, his courtiers, and above all the Marechal de Retz, a Florentine, had tainted him with detestable maxims, more calculated to prompt to all the crimes of tyranny.

Death
of
Charles
IX.

CHAPTER V.

BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF HENRY III. CONTINUATION OF THE TROUBLES IN THE LOW COUNTRIES.

THE duke of Anjou, whom Montluc, bishop of Valence, had procured to be elected king of Poland, succeeded to the throne of France, under the name of Henry III. This is the third son of Catharine, whom we see ascend it, and he will not be the least unhappy. Dreading lest the Poles should detain him, he withdrew privately, as if he had been a prisoner making his escape. The emperor and the Venetians fruitlessly advised him, while he was passing through their dominions, to treat the Protestants with gentleness, in order to restore tranquillity in his kingdom. He was one of the advisers of the massacre, and, to the utmost depravity of manners, added the external observances of the lowest superstition. His minions were his oracles ; their councils he followed ; by their caprices he was governed. He immediately showed tokens of a sanguinary reign ; made himself odious and contemptible to his subjects ; and, in a word, from the very

1574.
Henry III.
soon
loses his
reputation.

moment of his accession lost that shining reputation for which he was indebted to the talents of some able generals.

Faction of the Politicians. Henry had still a surviving brother, the duke of Alençon, afterwards duke of Anjou, and this giddy turbulent prince had put himself at the head of a cabal, called that of the *Politicians*, the purpose of which was to humble the princes of Lorraine, who had an absolute sway over the queen-mother. The king of Navarre, whom Charles IX. had constrained to abjure Calvinism after the massacre of St Bartholomew, had entered into the same faction. Charles had put them both under confinement; but Henry set them at liberty without gaining them over. His brother even conspired against his life, afterwards fled from court, and was followed by the king of Navarre, who immediately declared himself a good Protestant. The prince of Condé, a fugitive in Germany, had given an example of relapsing into heresy ; so true it is, that if force may produce dissimulation, it works no change, or rather more firmly establishes religious opinions.

Death of the cardinal de Lorraine. The Protestants then found themselves strengthened by the *Politicians*; the rebellion was headed by the king's brother, and the princes of the blood were enemies of the monarch. Thus does bad government foment disorders and civil wars. The cardinal de Lorraine, the principal author of the troubles, died about that time at an age not greatly advanced. It is easy to judge, whether his conduct was animated by ambition or true zeal ; notwithstanding his great pretences to

which, when he was negotiating with the German Protestants in 1562, both he and the duke of Guise gave them hopes, that the confession of Augsburg might be established in France ; and though, at the council of Trent, he had spoken in the strongest manner against the plurality of benefices, yet he possessed nine archbishopricks or bishopricks, and nine abbies. A prelate, whose whole thoughts and affections were centered in courts, who was of a cruel temper, and a slave to interest and ambition, must necessarily irritate or create fanaticism. The Catholic faction, for we find nothing here but factions, would have lost a great deal by his death, had not the new duke of Guise possessed all the qualities proper for the head of a party.

In this critical situation of affairs, a German army having come to the assistance of the confederates, it was found necessary to conclude a peace. The Calvinists obtained conditions much more advantageous than the preceding ; the public exercise of their religion, except within two leagues of the court ; chambers, consisting of half Protestants, half Catholics, in the eight parliaments of the kingdom. The children of priests and married monks were declared legitimate ; the memory of Coligny cleared from every stain ; the chiefs of the confederacy declared faithful subjects ; and Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Berri, added to the appanage of the duke of Alençon. Even the departure of the Germans was purchased ; and France, as well as Germany, discovered, that religious wars only served to extend the views, the progress, and the power of the per-

1576.
Fifth edict
of
pacification
favourable
to the
Calvinists,

secuted religion. This is the fifth edict of pacification passed in their favour.

*Philip II.
the
principal
cause
of all the
evils.*

These disasters, as well as those which we are yet to lament, are in a great measure to be ascribed to Philip II. Not content with giving his subjects reason to rebel, by the despotic rule which he affected to exercise over conscience, he animated the court of France to the same rigour, and every where raised the same storms, that he might take advantage of the misfortunes of his neighbours; a woful compensation for those which he brought upon his own dominions!

*The
Moriscos
persecuted
and
rebel.*

The Moriscos in Spain, a name given to the Moors who put on the appearance of converts out of fear, were harassed upon account of their customs, their dress, and even their language. A sanguinary theologian had pronounced their sentence in a few words, of *enemies always the fewest*. They rebelled in 1568, called the Turks and Algerines to their assistance, sustained a furious civil war, and perhaps would have spread the conflagration over the whole kingdom, had their worship been of a nature to seduce the Spaniards; in a word, they did not submit but upon the faith of an amnesty. The troubles in the Netherlands, a country of freemen, and at a distance from the monarch, could end only in a revolution.

*The
duke of Alva
continues
his
cruelties.
Revolt of the
Dutch.*

The more cruelties that were committed by the duke of Alva and his *bloody* tribunal, the more he oppressed that free people by unheard-of impositions, colouring those acts of violence under the pretence of religion, still more were the sectaries inflamed with hatred against

the church and the monarchy. In 1570, the prince of Orange showed himself at the head of a small army, and two years after, the states of Holland and Zealand established him stadtholder, and abjured the Roman faith. The love of liberty made heroes of men unused to arms. At last the duke of Alva was recalled in 1573. The blood of eighteen thousand persons, who in five years had been given up to the executioner for heresy, cried for vengeance on this persecutor, and he gloried in his cruelty.

Requesens, who succeeded him, threw down ^{Government of} ~~the statue, the erection of which had been an insult on humanity.~~ The new governor published an act of indemnity; for Philip began to dread, that violent remedies would still increase the evil; but it produced no effect, the people choosing rather to continue the war, than to trust the clemency of a perfidious king. Requesens, by his virtues and great talents, would have been capable of restoring affairs; but he died in 1576. Leyden was besieged by his troops, but had escaped the danger by breaking the dykes, and laying the country under water.

Don John of Austria, natural son of Charles V., who had acquired so great glory by the victory of Lepanto and the taking of Tunis, was appointed successor to Requesens, and set out with full powers to grant the rebels all their demands, except liberty of conscience. *Never will I grant them that, said Philip, though I should hazard the loss of my crown.* It seems, then, that provinces were to be lost, and heresy left triumphant in them, rather than be

^{Don John of Austria succeeds him.}

kept, and the heretics if possible converted, or made good subjects! Superstition reasons in a manner altogether incomprehensible. All the gentle methods at first employed by Don John were ineffectual, either because men's minds were filled with a spirit of enthusiasm and revenge, or because the prince of Orange, from motives of ambition, was desirous of aggrandizing himself by means of the troubles. The war was again kindled, and we shall see that Philip, notwithstanding all his forces, met with a resistance which he could not conquer.

The
Flemings
take
refuge
in England.

A multitude of Flemings, flying from persecution, had carried their manufactures into England. Thus Elizabeth reaped advantage from the faults committed by Philip; but the commotions raised against her in favour of Mary Stuart not permitting her to declare openly for the Hollanders, she waited till a favourable opportunity offered, which we shall soon see her embrace.

CHAPTER VI.

ORIGIN OF THE LEAGUE. PHILIP II. MAKES HIMSELF MASTER OF PORTUGAL, AND LOSES THE UNITED PROVINCES.

THE privileges granted to the Calvinists by the last edict of pacification, were too great not to excite the most violent resentment in the Catholics ; and the conduct of Henry III. was too bad not to draw upon him the hatred of both parties. Even the hypocrisy with which he veiled his infamous debaucheries, necessarily exposed himself to the contempt of those whose exercises of devotion he affected to imitate. The fraternities of Penitents, Blue, White, and Black, invented in Italy, where the spirit of the ancient flagellants seemed to revive, made themselves a public spectacle, not only in the provinces, but in the middle of the court. The monarch assumed their liveries, assisted at their processions in sackcloth, with a large chaplet in his hand, and a discipline in the rope with which he was girded. He fancied, that, by this means, he should impose upon the Catholics, and did not see, that, besides the turpitude of his manners, the triumph

De:
baucheries
and
hypocrisy
of
Henry III.

of the Calvinists was, in their eyes, an indelible crime.

1576.
Origin of
the
League.

All at once was formed the *Holy League*, which had long before been projected by the cardinal de Lorraine, and which bears the stamp of his arrogant and seditious spirit. According to the form of the association, which was made in Picardy, the members engaged to defend each other, *either by the way of legal procedure, or of arms, without respect of persons*. Whoever refused to enter into the association was declared *an enemy to God, a deserter of religion, a rebel to the king, a traitor to the country, and given up to all possible injuries and oppressions*. The leaguers pretended, that their union was formed for the defence of the Catholic religion, the king, and the kingdom ; and were not ashamed to cover, even with the mask of patriotism, the most determined spirit of rebellion !

The con:
federacies of
the
Protestants.

The Protestants had given examples of similar confederacies in several countries, for which they deserve the more severe censure, as they had attacked the established religion. Yet, while we condemn them, it must be acknowledged, that when they took these seditious steps, their doctrine had made great progress ; endeavours were used to force their belief, and their faith, liberty, and persons, were equally attacked. But here the Catholics could only complain of the progress made by a sect, which they had unluckily emboldened by their own violences ; they conspired its ruin, endeavoured to deprive it of the benefit resulting from repeated edicts of pacification, rebelled against the sovereign, and made that

rebellion a point of duty. We lament the necessity of painting the malignant rage of false zeal ; but it is the only, or the most effectual means, to cure mankind of its contagion.

Henry duke of Guise, the soul of the party, was destined for its leader ; which the king dreaded the more, as, in the meeting of the states-general at Blois, ^{States of Blois.} proposals were ventured which tended to degrade the royal authority. He thought he could escape this danger by declaring himself chief of the league ; an absurd measure, which encouraged and strengthened a party, whence he had every thing to dread. Liberty of conscience was from thenceforth to be suppressed. It was determined by the states, that no religion except the Catholic should be permitted in the kingdom ; and they even retrenched a clause, which at first had passed with great reason, '*as far as shall not be detrimental to public tranquillity, and for that effect it be not necessary to have recourse to arms.*' The prelates solicited the acceptance of the council of Trent ; which they would have obtained, had it not been for the opposition made by the deputies of some provinces.

This meeting of the states, and the king's conduct, sowed new seeds of war, and it was found necessary to publish another edict of pacification, by which the Protestants were again granted a toleration, but not the public exercise of their worship. What was the natural result of so many changes and inconsistencies ? Contempt for the laws, restlessness and animosity among the parties, and a long series of civil wars. The following very remarkable clause was inserted in the edict : 'Until it shall

1577.
Another
edict
of
pacification.

please God, by means of a *good, free, and lawful council*, again to unite all the subjects of the Catholic church!' The council of Trent had produced so little real good in that respect, that probably it was thought necessary to propose another. But nothing less than a miracle could have made a change in the opinions, and reconciled the minds of men, who were wedded to their principles no less by animosity than religious motives.

The king's conduct prognosticates new troubles.

A wise and enlightened prince, by a mixture of firmness and clemency, moderation and justice, would at least have prevented the troubles; but Henry III. minded nothing except his pleasures. He lavished the revenues of the state upon his minions; and was lulled to sleep in the midst of factions, to which he soon after fell a victim. The best thing that he did during the peace was, establishing the order of the Holy Ghost, from which all but Catholics were excluded. But however ambitious, men may be, of every mark of honour that would distinguish them at court, the Calvinist lords had then a more seducing object of ambition, that of governing a party, and making themselves respected by the opposite side.

^{1572.} The prince of Orange in the Netherlands was actuated by the same motives. After the arrival of Don John of Austria, he had again formed a confederacy at Brussels. The Flemings chose for their governor the archduke Mathias, brother of the emperor Rodolphus II., and the prince of Orange fancied that he should govern under the name of the archduke; but seeing his hopes deceived, set up the duke of Anjou, formerly duke of Alençon,

whom the Catholics put at their head ; for they, as well as the Protestants, were disgusted with the Spanish yoke. Thus four princes at that time tore in pieces a country, where the quarrels of religion and the abuses of despotism gave birth to every evil. Philip II., jealous of his brother, and suspicious of his designs, did not give him the succours necessary in circumstances so critical ; notwithstanding which, Don John defeated the rebels at Gemblours, and took several places ; but he died in the midst of his triumphs, leaving the command to his nephew, Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, the worthy successor of a hero.

While the Spanish monarch was threatened with the speedy loss of Holland, his ambition seized a crown, which in justice did not belong to him. Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, intoxicated with that spirit of chivalry, the examples of which became every day more rare, and, hurried away by the imprudent fire of youth, was obstinately bent on signalizing himself against the Moors in Africa ; in consequence of which, he accepted the proposals of Muley Mahomet, who had been driven out of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco by his uncle Muley Moluc, and, contrary to the advice of his wise counsellors, embarked with all his forces in an expedition which Philip had prudently declined. Having landed in Africa with an army of about fifteen thousand men, and the enemy, who were vastly superior in number, offering him battle, he braved the danger, fought, and was slain, and almost all the Christians perished, or were taken prisoners. The

Sebastian
slain in
an
expedition
into
Africa.

two Moorish kings lost their lives, as well as the king of Portugal.

1579.
He is
succeeded by
the
Cardinal
Henry.

Sebastjan leaving no children, his grand-uncle, Cardinal Henry, a priest and archbishop, succeeded him, and solicited the pope for a dispensation to marry, of which the nation was desirous; but Philip, who aspired to that crown, found means to prevent the dispensation from being sent. In conformity to the Roman politics, Gregory XIII. gained time, and that was gaining every thing.

Philip II.
receives
the
crown.

This priestly king died the year following, and his succession was claimed by a number of pretenders: Philip, who was his nephew by the mother's side; the duke of Braganza, married to the grand-daughter of the king Emanuel; Don Antonio, prior of Crato, natural son of an Infanto; the duke of Savoy; the duke of Parma; Catharine Medici; and even the pope, who renewed the ancient chimera of that kingdom being a fief to the Holy See, and likewise affirmed that he had a right to gather the spoils of a cardinal. The duke of Braganza's claim was preferable to all the others; but the king of Spain had taken his precautions; and an army supplying the defects of his title, he was received at Lisbon. The prior of Crato, assisted by a French army and fleet which were granted him by the queen-mother, struggled in vain with a monarch who was too much his superior in power. The Azores, or Tercera islands, which became the theatre of the war, were subdued by the Marquis de Santa-Cruz, and Don Antonio took refuge in France.

A price
offered for
the

Philip had set a price upon his head, as he did some time after on that of the prince of

Orange. The admiral Coligni had been treated in the same manner in France. That civil wars should have revived the Roman proscriptions, is not surprising ; but that a religion, which breathes the spirit of peace and charity, should be the chief pretext for those barbarities, must shock every man of feeling, and ought for ever to inspire the greatest horror against fanaticism, that dreadful instrument of the passions most contrary to humanity.

begin
of
illustrious
men.

The Low Countries stood in need of powerful succours against a despot who was master of the treasures of the New World, sovereign of a great part of Europe, implacable in his hatred, and a relentless persecutor of consciences. Being exhausted by the war, it seemed unquestionable that they would sink sooner or later ; and the new governor, Alexander Farnese, joined all the qualities of a hero to those of a politician. It is true, that in 1579, the prince of Orange had formed the famous union of Utrecht between the states of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Zutphen, with Gueldres, Over-yssel, Friesland, and Groningen ; an union which was in a short time received at Ghent, Antwerp, Bruges, Brussels, and, in a word, in most of the provinces. But the king of Spain was still acknowledged as sovereign ; and they pretended that the union was only designed to oppose the injustice of the government ; when the prince of Orange, finding the necessity of having recourse to a foreign power, persuaded the confederates to confer the dominion on the duke of Anjou, presumptive heir to the crown of France.

Union
of
Utrecht.

1581.
The States-
general
declare that
Philip II
had
forfeited
the
sovereignty.

At last the States-general assembled at the Hague, solemnly declared that Philip II. had forfeited the sovereignty, by violating the privileges of the people, in contradiction to his oath. The act bore in substance, ‘ That the people are not born for the princes, but that God hath established the princes for the people ; that there cannot be a prince without a people, but that the people may subsist without a prince ; that it is the duty of the latter to love his people, as a father loves his children, and to govern them with perfect equity ; that if he acts otherwise, he is no longer a prince, but a tyrant, and that the people owe him no obedience ; that they had long complained of the cruelty of their governors ; that their complaints and petitions had been laid before the king, but, far from obtaining the least concession, they had not been able to dissuade him from the design of imposing on them an intolerable yoke, under pretence of protecting the Catholic religion, on which they made no attack ; that the divine and human laws, which had been so often violated to do them an injury, restored to them their natural liberty, and gave them a right to elect a new prince, to govern them according to their privileges, liberties, and franchises.’ Thus the rebellion was completed.*

Philip
pleads a
dispensation
from the
pope.

A circumstance perhaps equally remarkable with this act of the United Provinces was, that the king of Spain, in his edict of proscription against the prince of Orange, acknowledges that he had not observed the oath which he

* See De Thou, l. 74.

took, when invested with the sovereignty of the Low Countries, and pleaded a dispensation from the pope. But by this means he furnished the Flemings with a specious pretext to think themselves freed from their oath. For if the pope could dispense the sovereign from his obligations to the subjects, how could these pay any regard to their own engagement, which was by formal conditions connected with that of the prince? William, upon whose head a price was set, had already published an apology, in which he accused Philip with a severity which the proscription itself seemed to render allowable.

The archduke Mathias had withdrawn; and if the duke of Anjou had acted with prudence, he would doubtless, by an equitable government, have secured the affections of that people whose free choice had lately made him their sovereign. But, being jealous of the prince of Orange, and seduced by the charms of ambition, he was anxious to render himself absolute, to seize upon the towns, and to aggrandize his authority by force; by which proceedings he only wrought his own ruin, and was obliged to return into France, where he died in 1584. The queen of England had flattered him with hopes of marriage, and even engaged herself by promises. But though she was in love with that prince, being always apprehensive of giving herself a master with a husband, and reflecting on the just fears of the nation, for England might have been annexed to the crown of France, she had broken with him in the same manner as she had deceived so many other

1583.
Unhappy
death of the
duke
of
Anjou.

princes, to whom she had given hopes of her hand.

Prince of Orange assassinated. The prince of Orange, after having escaped two conspiracies, fell a victim to a fanatic of Franche-comté, named Gerard, who fancied himself commanded by heaven to commit that murder. It is positively asserted, that on the news of his death, the king of Spain exclaimed, *That blow ought to have been struck twelve years ago, for my interest, and that of religion;* accordingly, he was suspected of being its author. The United Provinces being now more than ever in want of succours, offered the sovereignty to the king of France; what an opportunity for an able and courageous prince! But the offer was rejected by Henry, whose feeble hands could no longer wield the sceptre.

CHAPTER VII.

**THE LEAGUE OPENLY OPPOSES THE BOURBONS,
VIOLENT CONDUCT OF SIXTUS QUINTUS. TRIAL OF
THE QUEEN OF SCOTLAND. ELIZABETH TRIUMPHS
OVER SPAIN.**

We now come to the time when the Leaguers plainly showed their rebellious projects, which they still varnished with a pretence of zeal, and which a blind superstition rendered so fatal to the kingdom. By the death of the duke of Anjou, the king of Navarre (whom I shall henceforth style Henry IV. because he deserved at an early period the glory attached to that name), as first prince of the blood, became presumptive heir of the crown. The ambitious duke of Guise, whose views aspired even to royalty, dexterously seized the opportunity of excluding an heretical prince, and overthrowing a weak king, who made himself equally an object of contempt and hatred ; for which purpose, he set in motion the powerful springs of fanaticism. The priests and monks in the pulpits, in the schools, and private circles, painted in the most gloomy colours the imminent danger with which the church was threatened ; represented the king of Navarre as the support

1584.
The
Leaguers
decry
against the
king
of
Navarre,

of heresy ; Henry III. as a favourer of heretics, notwithstanding his exercises of devotion : and at last wrought up men's minds to the point wished for by the duke.

They consult Pope Gregory XIII. before they rebel.

A Jesuit of Lorraine named Matthieu, who was a furious emissary of the League, demanded of the pope, *Whether, for the maintenance of the Catholic religion, subjects might not withdraw their allegiance from the sovereign?* Gregory's answer, which he did not think proper to commit to writing, was certainly foreseen ; and, authorized by this oracle, the scrupulous made it no longer a doubt that the rebellion was lawful ; the others neither wanted the opinion of pope nor casuists. Men were not sufficiently masters of reason to see, that, if religious zeal justified such a step in the Catholics, it furnished the sectaries with an excuse for their insurrections ; because these believed themselves bound to maintain their false doctrines, as being the true religion.

End of this pontificate.
Sixtus V.

Gregory, who was naturally of a mild and timid temper, suffered them to speak in his name, without granting either bull or brief. He died before the rebellion was openly declared. To him the world was indebted for the reformation of the calendar, which was so necessary, and so ill received by the Protestants. He had excommunicated all who violated the bull *In Cœna Domini*. His principles therefore were the same with those of the Leaguers. His natural son, Buoncompagno, had drawn every possible advantage from *nepotism*. His successor, Sixtus Quintus, formerly a Cordelier, who from extreme poverty had risen to the summit of fortune, a man of vast genius, haughty,

severe, inflexible, bigotted to all the ultramontane principles, afterwards played a distinguished part in those stormy times.

As the duke of Guise took care not to pull off the mask too soon, he set the old cardinal de Bourbon, uncle of Henry IV. at the head of the league, after persuading him that his nephew being incapable of wearing the crown, upon account of his heresy, it had devolved upon him. Soon after appeared a manifesto of the cardinal, declaring himself head of the League, and naming the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, with a number of other Catholic princes, by whom it was supported ; at the same time professing, that the sole reason for taking arms was to secure the honour of the church, maintain the true faith, relieve the people, and abolish the new taxes under which they groaned. This declaration of war was immediately followed by hostilities.

1585.
Cardinal de
Bourbon
chief of
the League.

The king, though superior in force, was struck with terror, negotiated, and concluded the treaty of Nemours on the most advantageous terms for the Leaguers, who obtained several cautionary towns, sums of money, and an approbation of their conduct ; at the same time that the Calvinists were deprived of all the privileges granted them by the edicts. What more infallible method could be taken to alienate the Calvinists, make the League more insolent, and debase the royal power ? But the government was the sport of storms and factions.

Treaty
of
Nemours.

At that time Sixtus V., without paying any regard to the League, published his famous bull, one of the most odious ever issued by the

Bull of
Sixtus V.
against

<sup>the
Bourbons.</sup> Roman court ; in which, after a pompous encomium on the papal power, *infinitely superior to all earthly potentates, and which tumbles from their thrones the masters of the world, to plunge them into the gulf, as ministers of Lucifer* ; he anathematizes the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, *the impious and bastard issue of the illustrious house of Bourbon, heretics, relapsed, enemies of God and religion* ; declared them deprived of all their rights, unworthy, they and their posterity, of ever possessing any principality whatever ; and absolved all their subjects from the oath of allegiance.

<sup>Protest
of
Henry IV.
fixed up at
Rome.</sup> The court of France, equally mean-spirited with the sovereign, only prohibited the publication of that bull. But Henry IV. caused a protest to be fixed up in Rome, wherein he appeals to the court of peers ; gives the lie to Sixtus *styling himself pope*, retorts the charge of heresy on that pontiff, offering to prove it in a free and lawful council ; declaring that, if the pope refused to submit to it, he should look upon him only as an excommunicated person and as antichrist ; adding, that he hoped to take vengeance for the insult offered to the king, the royal family, his own blood, and all the parliaments of the kingdom. Sixtus, who was a good judge of mankind, was now filled with admiration of that prince, as well as of Elizabeth ; and, when speaking of them, frequently declared that, bating their religion, he knew no other persons worthy of reigning, and to whom he would choose to communicate his great designs.

<sup>A
double civil
war</sup> Meantime that bull, of which patriotism and reason dictated the destruction, served for food

to the madness of the vulgar, and the rebellion of the factious. The king found himself obliged to persecute the Calvinists with greater rigour ; and, by an edict, commanded them to abjure their religion, or quit France within fifteen days ; while the king of Navarre published a severe counter-proclamation against the Catholics. Thus Henry III. without money, without troops, and without power, had a double civil war to maintain, against the Catholic Leaguers, and against the Protestants.

kindled
by
the bull.

Let us turn our eyes for some time upon England, where the execution of Mary Stuart furnishes us with a remarkable event, and, tracing the steps of Elizabeth's political conduct to that bloody tragedy, contemplate the mixture of grandeur and human weakness which were so singularly contrasted in the daughter of Henry VIII.

When Mary escaped from the imprisonment in which she was held by her subjects, in 1568, and took refuge in the dominions of her rival, Elizabeth for some time wavered between the dictates of generosity and interest ; but at last thought only of dexterously turning the circumstances to her own advantage. Under pretence that the rules of decency would not permit her to succour, or even to see, that unfortunate princess, who was charged with the most atrocious crimes ; she persuaded her to undergo a kind of trial, and choose her for umpire. The Scots sending accusers, and producing embarrassing proofs, Mary repented of submitting to a trial, and refused to comply. In vain did she demand succours, or liberty to return to France. Elizabeth kept her prisoner ; and though this

Conduct
of
Elizabeth
towards
the queen
of
Scotland.

was infallibly exposing herself to plots, yet she thought these less dangerous than the liberty of a rival, who gave her so much uneasiness.

Comotions in favour of Mary. Never did the queen of Scotland appear more worthy of love and respect, than during her long captivity. Misfortune gave additional lustre to her personal charms, and vigour to her genius and magnanimity. The duke of Norfolk, the first peer in England, indulging his desire of becoming her husband, engaged in a conspiracy, in order to compel Elizabeth to give her consent, was accused of high treason, and executed. But the greatest storms were to be dreaded from the zeal of the Catholics ; and the courts of Rome, Spain, and France, that is to say, the Guises, strove to bring about a revolution.

The Catholics form plots. Pius V. launched the thunders of the Vatican ; and a fanatic fixed up his bull in London, from a persuasion that he should be entitled to the palm of martyrdom, 1571. The king of Spain, in the name of Gregory XIII. sent a body of troops into Ireland, a country yet full of barbarism and superstition ; but the Spaniards and rebels were put to the sword, 1580. All these attempts brought rigorous treatment on the Catholics, whose continual plots in favour of Mary Stuart exasperated Elizabeth ; and the parliament banished all the priests of that religion, particularly the Jesuits, and the pupils of their seminaries, whose furious zeal did not even respect the crown. Those who staid in the kingdom, or returned, were punished with death. The toleration, which till that time had been prudently observed, no longer subsisted ; and the *high commis-*

sion court, then newly erected, appeared a copy of the Spanish inquisition.

The doctrine of tyrannicide was then taught in the theological schools : princes, who refused submission to the pope, were represented as tyrants ; and, by abominable prejudices, in defiance of the holy maxims of the Christian religion, murder was made sacred, and even its rage excited against crowned heads.

An English gentleman, William Parry, having imbibed that doctrine in Italy, resolved to put it in practice ; in which design he was encouraged by the court of Rome, and by studying the works of an English theologist, who was afterwards promoted to the purple ; but, being accused by one of his accomplices, he acknowledged his crime, and suffered death.

Doctrine
of
tyrannicide.

1584.
Parry
forms a plot
to
murder the
queen.

Two years after was framed a conspiracy of the same kind, but more formidable. One Ballard, a priest, from the English seminary at Rheims, which had been founded by the Cardinal de Lorraine, instilled his fanaticism into Babington, a young gentleman of fortune, well educated, who had all the means of happiness in his power, and this man gained other Catholics. It was agreed to murder the queen, to set Mary Stuart on the throne, and thus establish a religion, for the sake of which such atrocious acts were deemed meritorious. Babington wrote to Mary, and received an answer filled with expressions of approbation and promises. But Walsingham, Elizabeth's minister, a man of equal vigilance and abilities, discovered the whole project, intercepted the letters, and caused the conspirators to be seized.

Ballard
and
Babington
follow his
steps.

ed, fourteen of whom were executed, and of these, seven confessed the plot.

Trial
of Mary
Stuart.

Had Mary formed intrigues only for her own deliverance, nothing would have been more excusable ; had she conspired the death of her enemy Elizabeth, being queen of Scotland, she was not amenable to a foreign tribunal for that criminal attempt ; yet forty commissioners were appointed for her trial. She was interrogated in her prison, and at first protested, that she acknowledged no judge, especially in a country where she was refused the protection of the laws, but at last imprudently suffered herself to be prevailed on to reply. Her two secretaries, without being put to the torture, attested her receiving and answering Babington's letters, and their evidence was confirmed by his confession. She denied the charge, and desired to be brought face to face with the secretaries ; but this was refused, as not ordered by the laws of England in cases of high treason. At last the judges returned to London, where they pronounced sentence of death.

1587.
Hypocritical
dissimula-
tion
of
Elizabeth.

On this occasion, Elizabeth betrayed herself by her very dissimulation. Though impatient to get rid of Mary, she affected the greatest concern for her fate, and assembled the parliament, that she might seem to act only according to the will of the nation. The sentence was confirmed by the parliament, and the court pressed her to put it in execution ; but the queen kept the public in suspense. It seemed as if the courtiers and ministers, with all their reasons and remonstrances, could not shake the generosity of her soul. It required extraordinary motives to force from her an act of ri-

gour, which she wished already executed. Accordingly, she took care to spread reports of invasions and conspiracies, calculated to inflame credulous minds. At last she signed the fatal order; but, if she might be believed, only with a design to make use of it in case of more pressing necessity. However, the ministers, divining her secret thoughts, hastened to give her satisfaction. The queen of Scotland died on a scaffold like a heroine and a Christian. On the news of this execution, Elizabeth broke out into lamentations, was transported with rage, drove the ministers from her presence, and, in a word, carried her hypocrisy to the greatest excess. Vain and odious artifice ! Her own age and posterity have with one voice condemned this action, which is the more crying, as it was not made necessary by any reason of state.

Mary
executed.

Elizabeth, by other parts of her conduct, drew upon herself universal admiration. After the refusal of the king of France, the United Provinces had offered her the sovereignty of their country in 1585; but the dread of incurring the reproach of usurpation, or not being able to keep possession of that principality, made her wisely averse from an attempt which was too hazardous. She therefore contented herself with entering into a defensive league with the rising republic, to whose assistance she sent a body of troops, under the command of her favourite the earl of Leicester. The English privateers already bid defiance to the Spaniards, even in America. The famous Drake sailed round the world, and returned loaded with booty. Being raised to the rank

Elizabeth
supports the
United
Provinces.

of admiral, he took St Domingo and Cartagena. The spirit for naval expeditions grew stronger every day ; England felt the advantages it might reap from the sea, and then laid the most solid foundations of its grandeur.

Sixtus V.
gives
England
to
Philip II.
The
Spanish
Armada.

Meantime, the king of Spain was making vast preparations for the conquest of that kingdom, which Sixtus V. had bestowed on him by bull, as a fief of the Holy See ; and the audacious pontiff even had the insolence to promise a reward to whoever should deliver Elizabeth into his hands, that she might be punished by the Catholics for her crimes. This was not only inviting her to a vigorous defence, but to an irreconcilable war against the Holy See ; but the armament of Philip II. seemed to secure the execution of the bull. It consisted of one hundred and thirty large ships, mounting two thousand six hundred great guns, having on board twenty thousand land forces, and provisions for six months. Alexander duke of Parma, already celebrated for his great actions in the Low Countries, was to make a descent, in order to second the *Invincible Armada* ; a name given it by presumptuous pride, but which it would have deserved, if human strength could be superior to the assaults of fortune. Here we have another important lesson, proper for humbling the pride of princes.

Prudence
and courage
displayed
by
the queen.

The English navy consisted of no more than twenty-eight small vessels, when that dreadful storm was ready to break upon the kingdom ; but Elizabeth's courage and prudence supplied every defect. She roused the spirit of the nation, which eagerly raised supplies of men,

money, and shipping. London, from which she demanded fifteen vessels, equipped thirty ; even the Catholics, whom the pope hoped to raise in rebellion, for the most part showed themselves good subjects. A numerous army was got ready for the defence of the country. The queen appeared on horseback in the camp, and protested, that she would die in the thickest of the battle, rather than see her people enslaved. *I have only the arm of a woman,* said she, *but I have the soul of a king, and what is more, of a king of England.* If a prince gains the affection and esteem of his subjects, if he sets the example, he makes them capable of the most heroic efforts. The English would have sacrificed every thing for their queen, and to her person attached the safety of the state.

Divers accidents likewise contributed to their triumph. The invincible armada, after setting sail from Lisbon, was retarded by a storm. The duke of Medina Sidonia, who, after the death of the brave marquis of Santa Cruz, was invested with the command against his will, had no knowledge in naval affairs. These enormous floating machines were ill managed by raw, ignorant pilots and sailors. The English, who were much more skilful seamen, turned even the small size and lightness of their vessels to advantage, and fought several times with success. The duke of Parma, having no men of war, thought imprudent to venture a descent. At last, the Spaniards losing all hopes of carrying their point, and returning by way of the Orkney Islands, were overtaken by a dreadful storm, which completed the ruin of their fleet. Philip lost more than one half

1588.
The
Spanish
Armada
destroyed.

of it; besides twenty-five thousand men, and about a million and a half sterling.

He received the news of this dreadful disaster with an air of tranquillity. *I had sent my fleet, said he, to fight against the English, not the elements. Blessed be the name of the Lord.* The Spanish priests, whose prophecies were confounded, attributed the misfortune to infidels being suffered to remain in the kingdom. They doubtless thought the Inquisition not sufficiently bloody.

How
this news
was
received in
Spain.

CHAPTER VIII.

LEAGUE OF THE SIXTEEN. ASSASSINATION OF THE GUISES. DEATH OF SIXTUS V.

IN France, to which we are led back by the thread of events, fanaticism, rebellion, and anarchy, present us with the most dismal spectacles. In the centre of Paris was formed the League of the *Sixteen*, which took its name from the sixteen quarters of the city, and exceeded the grand league in fury. Its design was to dethrone the sovereign, and bestow the crown on the duke of Guise.

League of
the
Sixteen
at
Paris.

Henry III., the contemptible sport of factious men, was not only prevented from uniting with the king of Navarre, though their common interest required it, but was still obliged to continue the war against him. Henry IV., who had already gained the reputation of a hero, signalized himself more than ever at the battle of Coutras in Guienne, 1587, where he defeated the duke de Joyeuse. That favourite was slain in cold blood after the action. Civil and religious feuds multiplied atrocious acts in both parties. Never had so many

Henry III.
obliged
to
make war
against his
heir.

crimes been committed in France, notwithstanding the disposition of the nation to all the social virtues.

The duke of Guise triumphant. A German army, which was advancing to the assistance of the Calvinists, having been attacked and dispersed by the duke of Guise, in the Gatinnois and the country of Chartrain, he was extolled at Paris as the saviour of France ; and, in order to pave his way to the throne, it was caused to be decided in the Sorbonne, that *an incapable prince might be deprived of the government, in the same manner as a suspicious guardian of his administration.*

Seditious demands of the Lorraine princes. Every step taken by the Lorraine princes foreboded the ruin of the king. An assembly which they held at Nanci with the principal Leaguers, addressed a memorial to him, wherein they prayed him to remove from his court the persons whom they should name ; to put into the hands of the chiefs of the League such places as they should point out ; to cause the council of Trent to be received ; to establish the Inquisition in the principal cities ; and to intrust it rather to foreigners than Frenchmen. This last article especially strikes horror. Was one half of the nation to become the butchers of the other ?

Inquisition and council of Trent. Let us here observe, that the ordinance of Blois, in 1579, had already established several points of discipline, conformable to the decrees of the council of Trent. It had fixed sixteen years as the lawful age for taking the monastic vows, which had been prudently retarded by the ordinance of Orleans. But whether regulations were proper or not, all was equal, provided they could triumph over their adver-

ries, even in things where these had reason plainly on their side.

The king, at last roused by indignation from his lethargy, prepared to punish the Sixteen, and forbid the duke of Guise from coming to Paris; notwithstanding which, he appeared in that city, and, soon after, the seditious took up arms, formed barricadoes, and surrounded the troops. Henry then fled, and Guise, being master of the capital, imposed the terms of accommodation; for though the Parisians gave signs of repentance, the king had not resolution enough to chastise the rebels. By an edict of reunion, signed at Rouen, that unhappy prince swore never to make peace nor truce with the heretics, to exterminate heresy; and prescribed to his subjects an oath, not to receive for king, after his death, a heretic or favourer of heretics, which was depriving Henry IV. of the right of succession.

The states-general were afterwards assembled at Blois, where that edict, which had been extorted from the sovereign, was declared a fundamental law, and new demands were made, still breathing the spirit of sedition. He was pressed to exclude by name the presumptive heir from the crown, and required without delay to publish the council of Trent. In the disputes raised on this subject, the archbishop of Lyons so far betrayed the liberties of the Gallican church, as to style them encroachments on the Holy See. The cardinal Gondi taxed with ignorance the defenders of those liberties, though they are only a remain of the common right of churches; and to such a pitch did the blindness of men rise, that they

Guise
master of
the
capital.
Edict
of reunion.

They
attempt to
impose
severer
ties.

were even desirous of violating the national laws, in order to crouch in servitude to the Romish court !

The
duke and
cardinal de
Guise
assassinated.

At last, the duke of Savoy having seized the marquisate of Saluzzo, under pretence of opposing a barrier to heresy ; the duke of Guise being suspected of holding intelligence with him, and having but one step more to dethrone a phantom king ; Henry having no resource in the laws, thought he could preserve himself by an act of violence, and caused the duke and the cardinal de Guise to be assassinated. That prelate, as violent as the duke was circumspect, had often talked of giving the king a capuchin's crown. Their brother, the duke of Mayenne, who was then at Lyons, was left at liberty ; but the cardinal de Bourbon was arrested.

1589.
Henry
again sinks
into
weakness.

After this decisive measure, the king ought to have taken advantage of the consternation of the factious, made himself master of Paris, crushed the Sixteen, and vigorously exerted an authority which had been long trampled on ; but he did nothing of all this, gave no order, took no precaution, and contented himself with publishing manifestoes in his own excuse.

Death
of
Catharine
Medici.

About that time died his mother the famous Catharine Medici, who had been long neglected, after having kindled so many discords and wars by the most violent and unprincipled ambition that ever inflamed a human heart. The misfortunes of the sovereign and the state were a dreadful refutation of her maxim, *Divide and govern*. On her deathbed she advised the king to be reconciled to Henry IV., and to leave consciences at liberty. This was at least

once in her life giving an advice agreeable to the public good.

The fanaticism of the Leaguers had already broken all bounds. That worthless faction of the Sixteen, composed of a few priests, and for the most part an insenate mob, being enraged at the murder of the Guises, put the capital in combustion, and their fury was but too much favoured by the blind prejudices which prevailed among the generality of the clergy and monks. Violent preachers, and confessors still more to be dreaded, everywhere made rebellion a sacred duty, and the Sorbonne authorized it by a decree, which it was attempted to make the parliament subscribe.

On their refusal, an attorney named Bussié-Clerc, whom the duke of Guise had appointed governor of the Bastile, imprisoned the illustrious Achilles de Harlai, the first president, and the other magistrates followed their chief; after which, a new parliament, created by the Sixteen, usurped the temple of justice, and confirmed the League in its full extent, with the addition of an oath to revenge the death of the Guises against the authors and accomplices of the murder.

What Henry III. ought to have done at the beginning of the troubles, he at last determined on when reduced to extremity, and reconciled himself to the king of Navarre, who, notwithstanding so many reasons for distrust, had the resolution to join him. Then appeared a monitory of Sixtus V., ordering the king of France to appear before him in person or by proxy, within sixty days, to clear himself from the murder of the Cardinal de Guise, and declar-

Fanaticism
of the
Sixteen.

The
parliament
imprisoned.

Reconcilia-
tion of
the
two kings.

ing him excommunicated in virtue of the bull *In Cœna Domini*, if he did not inform the Holy See of his obedience. The monarch had solicited absolution at Rome; and, struck with this new thunderbolt, trembled, according to custom. *Let us conquer, said Henry IV., and we shall be absolved; but if we be beaten, we shall be excommunicated.*

It is published in some towns. It is certain, that the court of Rome intended to take its measures according to the event; and still more unquestionable, that a man must have been a leaguer, or something like it, not to reject a summons so odious; yet the monitory was published at Meaux, and in like manner at Chartres, notwithstanding the opposition of the bishop, who used frequently to say, *The censures of the pope have no force on this side the mountains, and are frozen in their passage over the Alps.**^{*}

Siege of Paris. The king assassinated by James Clement. The two kings besieged Paris, and encamped at St Cloud, where Henry III. was stabbed by James Clement, a young Dominican priest, whom the preachers, the casuists, and his prior, had impelled to the crime, by showing him heaven as the reward of the regicide. This traitor had caused himself to be introduced, under pretence of being intrusted with important commissions, and died upon the spot, pierced with a multitude of wounds, by which means he escaped torture, and even examination. He was canonized by the fanatics in Paris, who extolled him above Judith, and placed his image on the altars. Sixtus V. ex-

* See the Translation of De Thou's Restitutions and Corrections, lib. 95.

pressed the highest admiration of this daring act of Clement, which he did not blush to compare to the incarnation of the Word, and the resurrection of the Saviour. ‘It is inconceivable,’ says the judicious De Thou, ‘that he could express himself in terms so indecent and unworthy of the common father of the faithful.’ But if he did it, every thing may be accounted for by the general spirit of infatuation.

This pontiff, who was one of the most extraordinary men of his time, died the year following, 1590, at the age of sixty-nine. By a rigorous execution of justice, he cleared the ecclesiastical state from those swarms of robbers with which it was infested by the fault of the government, and, by prudent economy, was enabled to adorn Rome with obelisks and fountains of equal utility and magnificence; to build a palace and the Vatican library; to procure for the people continual plenty; to enrich his family without raising clamours, and to leave at his death above five millions of gold. He projected the conquest of Naples. *Indeed, a compliment and a pad are too small a price for a kingdom,* said he, upon receiving the usual homage from Philip II. It is manifest, that he was not a dupe to the bigotted zeal of that prince.

He entertained the utmost contempt for Henry III., and is reported by Naudé to have one day said, *I have done every thing in my power to rise above the condition of a monk, and he does every thing he can to fall into it.* The enco-*

Death
of
Sixtus V.

His
contempt
for
Henry III.

miums he bestowed on Henry IV. and Elizabeth are proofs, that if he abused the papal power in derogation to the rights of crowned heads, he had the soul and genius of a man formed for reigning. Perhaps he would have ruled with greater glory over a secular than the ecclesiastical state.

Saying
of
Elizabeth
with regard
to
that pope.

According to Leti, Elizabeth, with whom he secretly negotiated for the conquest of Naples, spoke of him in these terms : He is not a *pope-priest*, but a *pope-king*. Unluckily, he on occasion followed too closely the maxims of the priests of his time. Yet he did not love the Jesuits, though they were such zealous supporters of the opinions and interests of Rome, and ordered them to quit England.

Urban VII.
and
Gregory
XIV.

Urban VII., his successor, scarce enjoyed the tiara. Gregory XIV., a native of Milan, who by birth and principle was attached to the Spanish court, signalized his zeal for the League, as we shall see under the epoch of a reign which will be for ever memorable.

TWELFTH EPOCH.

THE REIGN OF HENRY IV. THE MISFORTUNES
OF FRANCE REPAIRED BY A GOOD KING.

FROM THE YEAR MDLXXXIX TO THE MINISTRY OF
CARDINAL RICHELIEU, IN MDCXXIV.

CHAPTER I.

WAR BETWEEN HENRY IV. AND THE LEAGUERS.
HE ABJURES CALVINISM, AND THE LEAGUE IS
WEAKENED.

THREE sons of Henry II. having reigned in succession, and left no children, the branch of Valois was extinct; and Henry de Bourbon, king of Navarre, a descendant of St Louis, was the cousin of the late king only in the two-and-twentieth degree; yet, notwithstanding his very remote propinquity, the crown belonged to him, as being the first prince of the blood. Providence seemed to have carefully disposed the events, and to have formed the heart and understanding of this prince, in order to make

Right
of
Henry IV.
to
the crown.

him a model for the kings of France. His faults, which we shall not dissemble, were those of a feeling and elevated soul.

His excellent qualities. Heroic valour, wonderful sagacity, generous beneficence, love of glory and his country, frankness, rectitude, economy, a talent for business, a habit of application, an amiable and noble sincerity, all naturally contributed to secure the voluntary homage of a people who were bound to obey him by his birth-right. But his religion, which was Calvinistical, though without bigotry, sullied his excellent qualities in the eyes of the majority of the nation, and carried them so far as even to violate on his account a fundamental law, which would have been respected in favour of a child, an idiot, or even a wicked prince, if fanaticism had not thrown the French into a delirium.

1589.
The duke
of
Mayenne
head of
the League. The duke of Mayenne, head of the League, after the death of his brothers, though possessed neither of their activity nor boldness, might have taken the title of king ; but he chose rather to confer it on the old Cardinal de Bourbon, who was still a prisoner. Henry IV. being abandoned by the greater part, and his forces reduced to six thousand men from thirty thousand, with whom he had begun the siege of Paris, retired towards Dieppe ; when the duke of Mayenne pursued him with an army of three or four times his numbers, and lost the battle of Arques. Next year the conqueror gained a complete victory at Ivri. It was on this occasion that he made the following noble speech to his soldiers before the battle : *My children, if you lose sight of the colours, rally by my white*

Battles
of
Arques and
Ivri.

plume ; you will always find it in the road to honour and glory. God is for us. In fact, he set an example of courage, by facing a thousand dangers ; and of humanity, by crying out, when his troops were pursuing the fugitives, *Spare the French !* Yet Frenchmen could be his enemies !

Paris was soon after blockaded, where the hatred of the Leaguers displayed itself with more violence, in proportion as the king showed himself more worthy of affection. The cardinal de Bourbon being lately dead, the Sorbonne decided, for at that time the theologians decided every thing, that Henry, being a relapsed and excommunicated heretic, could not be acknowledged, *even though he should be absolved from the censures.* The parliament, deprived of its most worthy members, approved this shameful decree, and prohibited all proposals of accommodation with Henry, under pain of death. A regiment of priests and monks, armed with cuirasses and muskets, patroled the streets, in order to animate the populace, who were already transported with frenzy. In the mean time, the famine became insupportable ; and bread was made of human bones ground to powder. But the wretched enthusiasts were encouraged by the palm of martyrdom held forth to them by the Sorbonne ; while the monks, who preached it up, felt very little of the scarcity. The convents were searched, and a quantity of provisions found, which afforded a small relief to the misery of the starving multitude.

Had not Henry been moved with pity for those madmen, he would infallibly have taken

1590.
Blockade
of
Paris.

Violence
of the
Sorbonne.

Lenity
of
the king

to the
Parisians. the capital, where two hundred thousand men were pining with want. But, *I had rather lose Paris, than get possession of it when entirely ruined by the death of so many persons.* He gave the useless mouths a free passage, and permitted his officers and soldiers to send in refreshments to their friends. By this paternal kindness, which the rigours of war do not permit in such circumstances, he lost the fruit of his labours, and prolonged the civil war.

Alexander
Farnese
delivers
Paris. Philip II. had a view to the crown of France, and therefore protected the League; but sent it only small succours, that he might keep it in a state of subservience to his designs. Being now apprehensive that the taking of Paris would draw on the submission of the whole kingdom, he ordered the duke of Parma to march to its relief; upon which, that great general quitted the Low Countries, where young Maurice, son and successor of that prince of Orange who had been assassinated, supported the Dutch republic by extraordinary efforts; and, at his approach, Henry raised the siege, to offer him battle. But Paris being relieved, which was all that Farnese wished, that general prudently avoided coming to an engagement, and returned to the pressing affairs of his government in the Low Countries. The situation of the king was deplorable; he was without money, and his troops were dispirited, and ready to quit his standards. One day he was even obliged to take a dinner with his superintendent, Francis d'O, who thought more of his own advantage than the necessities of the sovereign.

This disaster was followed by other misfortunes. The duke of Savoy, not content with the marquisate of Saluzzo, wanted to seize Dauphiné and Provence, the former of which was saved by Leodiguieres, an able general. But Provence received the duke with transports of joy ; and the parliament of Aix, in a fit of delirium, which was but too common, named him *lieutenant-general under the crown of France*.

Invasion of
the duke
of
Savoy.

Gregory XIV. on his side, ordered all persons, under pain of excommunication, to quit the party of a prince who was *a heretic, and deprived of all his dominions*. He did more ; he sent troops and money to the Leaguers. Money sent from Rome to France ! It was not the least extraordinary phenomenon of that time. Philip already imagined that he was sure of the crown, either for himself or his daughter ; and if the Sixteen had been endowed with as much prudence as boldness, he would perhaps have obtained it, at least for a time, until the nation felt all the disgrace of submitting to a foreign yoke.

1591.
Gregory
XIV.
supports
the
Leaguers.

These hot-headed rebels, breaking through all restraint, and pretending to give law to the duke of Mayenne, as well as the others, dug a pit for themselves, even by their excesses. The parliament not having passed sentence of death on a man whom they wanted to destroy, they caused three magistrates to be hanged, and among the rest Brisson, who exercised the office of First President. Mayenne, irritated by these proceedings, came to Paris, took his measures with secrecy and prudence, delivered up some of the most violent to the executioner, drove Bussi le Clerc out of the Bastile, and

The Sixteen
chastised.

thus put an end to a detestable faction, which derived its whole strength from the madness of fanaticism.

Henry
besieges
Rouen.

Still the king's affairs were in no better situation. Some succours from England and Germany put him in a condition to besiege Rouen ; but he met with an obstinate resistance ; and, when he hoped to triumph over it, had the mortification of seeing his prey again snatched from him by the duke of Parma. He raised the siege, burning with desire to revenge himself by a battle ; but Farnese, pursued and hard pressed in Normandy, escaped him by passing the Seine in the night, on a bridge of boats ; a retreat which was the more glorious, as Henry believed it to be impossible. That great general died soon after in Flanders, at the age of forty-seven. The lustre of his military talents was heightened by his virtues ; and no man would have been more proper to bring back the United Provinces to the Spanish yoke, had it been possible to find a remedy for the evils caused by despotism and persecution.

Bouchage
twice a
Capuchin.

The duke of Savoy soon lost Provence ; and Leodiguieres dispersed the pope's troops, without the inveteracy of the Leaguers seeming to be weakened. The following fact will throw additional light upon the folly of the age. The count de Bouchage, brother of the duke de Joyeuse, had turned Capuchin in 1587 ; but was obliged, under pain of committing a mortal sin, to quit the monastic habit, in order to put himself at the head of the army. His vocation to enter into the order of Capuchins, whose habit he afterwards resumed,

plainly proves that he was not an Alexander Farnese ; but it was doubtless proper to inspire the Leaguers with confidence and enthusiasm.

This party still took the impression of the court of Rome ; and Clement VIII., Aldobrandin, following the steps of Gregory XIV., kept a legate at Paris, who directed its motions. The French were exhorted by a bull to elect a king, and Mayenne assembled the states-general. In this assembly, where the Leaguers imagined themselves the representatives of the nation, the legate required an oath never to receive Henry, even though he should abjure heresy ; which we have already seen was prescribed by the Sorbonne as a duty. The duke of Feria, ambassador of Philip II., demanded the throne for the Infanta of Spain, on condition that she married the young duke of Guise. The laws of the kingdom were trampled under foot, and it was on the point of being given to a foreign master. Happily the parliament, rousing from its shameful lethargy, passed an arret conformable to the Salic law, which no pretext of religion could supersede ; and the more these magistrates had wandered from their duty, the more did this arret confound the seditious.

But if Henry persisted in his religion, his rights and his efforts met with unsurmountable obstacles, of which he was sensible, and had repeatedly declared that he was sincerely desirous of being instructed ; that he was ready to embrace the truth, as soon as he was convinced of his error ; and that the irreconcilable war carried on against him was the sole reason why he did not employ all his thoughts on that im-

1583.
The pope
and
Philip II.
try
to procure
the election
of a king
of
France.

Henry
complains
that his
conversion
was
hindered.

portant object. Nothing could be more just than his complaints. The legate, the Spaniards and enthusiasts, had carried their obstinacy to such a height, as to reject a project for a conference between the two parties. Conferences, however, were held at Surene, but without producing the least effect.

<sup>He
abjures
Calvinism.</sup> The Catholics of the king's party began to complain of his perseverance in Calvinism, and the moderate men of that persuasion represented to him the necessity of a change ; telling him, that the *cannon* of the mass was necessary to make him triumph over the rebels. Even some of the reformed ministers softened the difficulties, by acknowledging that salvation was possible in the Roman church. At last he conferred one or two days with some bishops, took his resolution, and performed the ceremony of abjuration at St Denys, in presence of a multitude of the Parisians, the people flocking to that ceremony, though the legate, to crown the unjust conduct of the Romish court, had prohibited all men from assisting at it, under pain of excommunication.

<sup>Is still
persecuted.</sup> Though it can scarcely be doubted that political motives had a share in the monarch's conversion, yet perhaps it was one of the most beneficial steps for the kingdom that ever was taken. What hope was there of otherwise putting an end to the civil war, when some unbridled Leaguers embraced that occasion to redouble their efforts ? A parish priest of Paris preached nine sermons against the absolution given to the king by the archbishop of Bourges. A Savoyard Cordelier, treating the same subject, exhorted his hearers to pray to God,

that the pope might not lend an ear to the instances of the *Man of Bearn*, and might refuse to absolve him. A preaching bishop of Senlis promised in the pulpit to prove that the Man of Bearn was a bastard, and unworthy of the crown. A waterman, named Barriere, was convicted of a design to assassinate that prince, and named four priests or monks who instigated him to the crime.

Henry had been received into the capital in 1594, and, while he was there giving remarkable proofs of his beneficence and zeal for the public good, was wounded in the throat with a knife by a young fanatic, named John Chatel. When the assassin was interrogated, he alleged the doctrine of tyrannicide, which he had learned among his masters the Jesuits, and had heard preached elsewhere. The Jesuits and Capuchins were the only persons who, from the beginning, persisted obstinately in the revolt till the pope should give judgment; and this was an additional motive for believing them more dangerous. They were therefore banished by

1594.
Crime of
John
Chatel.

Banishment
of the
Jesuits.

Let us here remark, both for the honour of letters, and for the sake of general utility, that the decay of the League is in a great measure ascribed to some ingenious writings, particular-

Reason and
ridicule
employed
against
the
League.

which might disturb the public peace, *if any such there were*. It is a remarkable circumstance, that Henry IV. was obliged, by way of penance, to say the Chaplet every day, the Litanies every Wednesday, and the Rosary every Saturday. During the ceremony of the absolution, the ambassadors knelt, and, according to the custom, at the end of every verse of the *Miserere*, received a stroke of a scourge from the hand of the pope. This is an allegorical imitation of the manner in which the Romans enfranchised their slaves.

The
chief of the
League
subjected. Doubtless these humiliating ceremonies appeared absolutely necessary, as the king expressed great satisfaction. The Leaguers having now no pretext for their rebellion, the League necessarily was dissolved. But the duke of Mayenne, being supported by Philip II., still held out, that he might obtain advantageous terms ; in consequence of which, war was declared against Spain, though the nation was little capable of carrying it on. Henry, marching against Mayenne, who was in his government of Burgundy, met and defeated a Spanish army, at Fontaine Françoise, where, with a handful of troops, he faced a thousand dangers. This temerity had more than once succeeded with him ; yet it was justly blamed by the best officers, because its consequences might be dreadful. Mayenne submitted in 1596 ; he obtained three fortresses for his security ; and the generous monarch showed himself rather his friend than his conqueror. But the duke de Mercœur, another prince of the Lorraine family, and governor of Bretagne, persisted in his rebellion till 1598.

All the chiefs of the League exacted high prices for their submission : but the civil wars had so ruined the kingdom, that the restoration of tranquillity could not be too dearly purchased ; and the king faithfully performed whatever he promised, even when his authority was so firmly established, that he seemed in a condition to break his word with safety : an example of probity which was the more worthy of admiration, as, at the same time that he discharged obligations of so burdensome a nature, he found means to relieve his people, and make his kingdom flourish.

Henry
faithful
to
all his
promises.

We shall take a rapid sketch of the events of the war, that we may, at our leisure, contemplate the public happiness. Calais was taken for the Spaniards, by a French officer in their service ; and that conquest was followed by the surprisal of Amiens, through the fault of the citizens, who had taken the defence of it upon themselves. But Henry having, with difficulty, found means to pay a body of troops, heroically recovered that place, reduced Bretagne to obedience, obliged the duke de Mercœur to submit, and soon calmed the apprehensions which had filled the hearts of all good Frenchmen.

Events of
the war
with Spain.

The Protestants at that time gave him almost as much uneasiness as the enemy. Though he had granted them liberty of conscience, which, even by the prudent part of the Catholics, was deemed a necessary measure ; yet, either from vexation for his having abjured their religion, the violence of party zeal, or discontent for being out of favour, they wearied him with seditious demands, and even gave cause to appre-

1598.
The king
made uneasy
by the
Calvinists.

Edict
of Nantz.

hend a rebellion. While on the road to Bretagne, he thought it requisite to satisfy them, in order to avoid greater evils ; and this produced the famous Edict of Nantz, which, besides the public exercise of their religion in several towns, capacitated them for holding offices, put them in possession of some places, as pledges of their security, for eight years, and established salaries for their ministers. The clamours of the clergy, doctors, and preachers were to no purpose ; and the resistance of the parliament yielded to the reasons of the prince, who convinced the magistrates, that the peace of the state constituted the prosperity of the church ; and that the grand object of government ought to be, to inspire all, whether Catholics or not, with the principles of love to their country, which are by no means incompatible with the difference of worship.

Philip. II.
tired of
a ruinous
war.

Meantime the king of Spain, weighed down with age and infirmities, grew weary of a war, which swallowed up immense treasures. Elizabeth, though displeased with Henry's conversion, continued her assistance to him, and to the United Provinces ; and the English navy became every day more formidable. The admiral Effingham, accompanied by the earl of Essex, a new favourite of the queen, attacked and defeated the Spaniards, even in the road of Cadiz ; the city was pillaged ; and the loss of the enemy was estimated at twenty millions of ducats. The ambitious Philip reaped no advantage from the troubles with which he had filled Europe, and had lost all hopes of obtaining the crown of France, either for himself or his daughter ; the pope exhorted the Protest-

ants to lay down their arms, and the negotiations were opened.

The court of Spain refusing to acknowledge the republic of Holland, and Elizabeth to abandon their cause, Henry was compelled, by necessity, to treat separately. He laid his reasons before the allies, without dissimulation or artifice ; and, determined by the exigencies of the state, concluded the advantageous treaty of ^{Peace of Vervins.} Vervins, which put him in possession of all the conquests made by the Spaniards in Picardy.

^{Death of Philip II. His character.} Philip II. died soon after, at the age of seventy-two. Gloomy, jealous, distrustful, revengeful, dissembling, suspicious, cruel, mingling hypocrisy with zeal, and malice with ambition ; if he had vast political skill, an unwearyed application to business, profound knowledge of mankind, prodigious power and riches, he certainly was destitute of what makes the true merit of a king. In fact, his reign, and it lasted forty-two years, was productive of numberless calamities, which were felt by his own subjects, in common with other nations. He was a savage and implacable tyrant, who wanted to rule by terror. The grandees of his court, and his ministers, were only slaves at his feet. One day, the duke of Alva, having ventured to enter his closet without sending in his name, *What insolence !* cried he, with a furious look ; *you deserve the axe !*

That we may judge of this monarch's false politics, let us take a view of his enterprises, his means, and his successes. He attempted to enslave the Low Countries, to crush England, subdue France, and force the sectaries to submit to the ancient religion ; and to succeed in

^{His vast enterprises unsuccessful.}

these projects, by his own acknowledgment, expended five hundred and sixty-four millions of ducats. Yet Holland established her republic, in defiance of the efforts of his despotism ; England triumphed over his armaments, and gave him dangerous blows ; and France, notwithstanding the wars and dissensions he had kindled in it, again united under the lawful sovereign. It is true, the Inquisition has preserved the Catholic religion in Spain ; but this it has effected by burning the subjects, depopulating the kingdom, putting fetters upon reason and genius, and by distrust, dread, bigotry, superstition, and the ruin of the social virtues, bringing unhappiness upon a people capable of meriting the highest encomiums.

The
treasures of
America
ruined
Spain.

This kingdom, though nature has been lavish to it of her favours, fell into a state of languor, which, after a little reflection, cannot be surprising. At first view, the conquest of America seems to open to it an inexhaustible source of prosperity ; but this notion is false. The avarice of the Spaniards being attracted by the treasures of the New World, they deserted their country, neglected agriculture, abandoned their manufactures, and forgot that the productions of the earth, and the fruits of a laborious industry, are the only real riches. They were plunged into the gulf of luxury and effeminacy by a transitory opulence. The manners were corrupted, and the love of labour was extinguished by a pride frequently ridiculous. What was the consequence ? In proportion as gold and silver became common, grain and manufactures increased in price. They were obliged to seek elsewhere for the

necessaries which they could not find at home, to purchase them of foreigners, and to pay the price which the sellers were pleased to impose. Those riches flowed out of the state in rapid streams, leaving behind them only vices, barrenness, and beggary. Philip II. whom they at first enabled to make the greatest attempts, found himself reduced to a state of insolvency.

The Spanish monarchy continued to decline under his son Philip III., a prince incapable of governing. The favourites reigned in his stead. The duke of Lerma, who was prime minister, being himself unable to support the weight of government, threw it upon Calderona, a man who had risen from the lowest rank. The clergy, who had already too much power, acquired more; almost every department of government was managed on false principles, and Spain made but one step from the height of grandeur to decay. The fortune of empires may be compared to that of individuals. After rising to a certain pitch, it verges to its ruin, unless its foundations be cemented by prudence; but it is difficult to couple prudence with fortune.

It was a happiness, if not for Germany, at least for the rest of Europe, that the Imperial branch of Austria had been in a languishing state for a number of years. The whole thoughts of the emperor Rodolphus II. were turned upon astronomy, chemistry, experimental philosophy, and horses, while the politics of Philip II. were setting the world in a flame. Accordingly, the empire furnishes few remarkable events.

Spain
declines
under Philip
III.

The
Imperial
branch
languishing
under
Rodolphus
II.

Gebhard
turns
Calvinist.

Some disturbances were raised by the rivalry of the two religions. Gebhard, elector of Cologne, having embraced Calvinism, and married, in 1583, the chapter and city revolted against him. He was excommunicated and deposed by Gregory XIII.; and the Protestants lending him no assistance, because he had embraced the Calvinist, not the Lutheran religion, he was defeated, forsaken, and retired to Strasburg, where he ended his days.

Clement
VIII. seizes
Ferrara
and
Comacchio.

An emperor, who had been attentive to the affairs of Italy, would not perhaps have suffered the territory of Ferrara to be again united to the ecclesiastical dominions. After the death of Alphonso II. duke of Ferrara and Modena, Caesar d'Este, his cousin-german, was his lawful heir; but Clement VIII. seized the territory of Ferrara and Comacchio, under pretence that Caesar's mother being only the daughter of a citizen, he ought to be looked upon as illegitimate; and that prince being too weak to resist, the pope came to an accommodation, and renounced that duchy, contenting himself with Modena, Carpi, and Regio, the investiture of which was given him by Rodolphus in 1598.

CHAPTER III.

FRANCE BEGINS TO PROSPER. END OF THE REIGN
OF ELIZABETH. HER WISE GOVERNMENT.

HOWEVER capable Henry was of seeing what was right, and governing properly by himself, yet he stood in need of a virtuous friend and able minister, to execute the great designs which his zeal for the prosperity of the nation had prompted him to form. Both these he had found in the celebrated duke of Sulli, then marquis of Rosny; a man of extraordinary parts, and of a soul still superior to his genius; accustomed almost from his infancy to every species of heroism; and who, being charged with the administration in 1596, soon showed himself a consummate minister. We shall elsewhere give an account of his labours in regulating the finances, and the success with which he healed the wounds of the state. Perhaps he as much deserves to be admired for his conduct in quality of the king's friend, as in that of minister.

Sulli,
a minister
worthy
of
Henry IV.

Henry, too sensible to the allurements of ^{The king's} pleasure, was capable of forgetting his duty in ^{amours.}

the lap of love ; and the beautiful Gabrielle d'Estrées became so absolute mistress of his heart, that he thought of marrying her, being in hopes of obtaining permission from Rome to divorce the queen Margaret de Valois, from whom he had long lived in a state of separation. Gabrielle dying, she was succeeded by another mistress, Henrietta d'Entragues, a woman of an artful, intriguing, and ambitious spirit, who inflamed his desires by refusals until she obtained a promise of marriage. This promise the king showed to Sulli, ready signed, and the minister, transported with indignation, tore it in pieces. *I believe you are mad !* cried Henry in a rage. *It is true, I am mad,* replied Sulli ; *and I wish I was the only madman in France.* When, after so keen an altercation, he thought himself irrecoverably disgraced, he received the brevet of grand master of the ordnance ! Happy is the prince who can procure such a friend ! If he sometimes deviates from the right path, at least the truth enlightens him, and brings him back. The sentence of divorce, which the king solicited, was granted ; and he married Mary Medici, who bore him Louis XIII. in 1601 ; but in other respects, the match was unfortunate.

1600.
War
and peace
with
the duke of
Savoy.

It was time to punish the duke of Savoy for his usurpations. Henry pressed him to restore the marquisate of Saluzzo, and the duke came to Paris to negociate, or rather to intrigue, to deceive, and to stir up cabals. He promised, and failed in his word ; and war being declared against him, he lost Savoy and Bresse in three months, principally by the indefatigable vigilance of Sulli. Peace was afterwards

The
minister
runs
the hazard
of being
disgraced by
an act of
seal.

concluded, and he ceded Bresse and Bugei for the marquisate of Saluzzo. Some people blamed this treaty ; but the king, being less ambitious of conquests than of what tended to the real good of the state, had no need of a passage into Italy, and peace was absolutely necessary for the execution of his designs.

Besides, the duke had left the seeds of rebellion in the kingdom, and even seduced the marechal de Biron, who would have acquired the greatest esteem by his own services, and those of his father, had not his merit been obliterated by his haughtiness and insolent pretensions. This lord had entered into a treaty with the duke of Savoy and the court of Spain ; yet the king, who had unquestionable proofs of his crime, offered him a pardon only on condition of confessing his guilt ; but Biron refusing to make any acknowledgment, or show the least signs of repentance, was at last delivered up to justice, it being absolutely necessary to make him an example. The criminal, who was condemned to lose his head, at his execution was filled with agonies that seemed to deprive him of his senses, though he had often defied death in battle. So far does bravery in the field fall short of that firmness of soul, without which there can be no true heroism.

Elizabeth had just before met with a more piercing vexation of the same kind. Her favourite, the earl of Essex, was anxious to be employed in the reduction of the Irish, a people equally savage and fanatical, who were stirred up to rebellion by the bulls of Rome and the

Marechal
Biron
punished.

Dishgrace
and death of
the earl
of
Essex.

intrigues of Spain ; but, though he was at the head of a very considerable army, he miscarried in the enterprise, which his successor, lord Mountjoy, afterwards brought to a glorious conclusion. Upon this, the queen's affection cooled, and he was disgraced ; yet it is not questioned but she would have pardoned him, had he prudently suffered time to work ; instead of which, his hasty impetuous temper, irritated by despair, plunged him into a conspiracy and rebellion. He was seized, and, after a short trial, beheaded in 1601. Yet, notwithstanding his offences, he had still continued to be the object of Elizabeth's affection, and might have obtained her pardon ; but he disdained to make the least submission. After this, the queen, for the remainder of her life, languished in deep melancholy, either caused by the death of Essex, or vexation at seeing the attention and homage of the courtiers directed to James VI., king of Scotland, the presumptive heir to her crown.

1603.
Death
of
Elizabeth.

This illustrious princess, whose private life furnishes matter of censure, but who always governed like a great monarch, died in the seventieth year of her age. Her reign, which lasted forty-four years, was free from civil wars, at a time when fanaticism armed so many subjects against their sovereigns. Though she allowed no liberty of conscience, and from time to time rigorously checked both the Catholics, who were become objects of her suspicion, and the Puritans, whom we shall see so dangerous under the reigns of the Stuarts ; the vigilance, activity, and prudence

of her government extinguished every spark of rebellion ; which was wonderful, especially if we reflect upon the character of the nation, and the misfortunes of the following reigns.

It is true, that the royal prerogative was almost unlimited under the Tudors. About the end of this reign, the abuse of monopolies and exclusive privileges having been vigorously attacked in parliament, the famous Bacon, afterwards chancellor, laid it down as a principle, that the prerogative was above all examination ; that it might enlarge what was restrained, and restrain what was enlarged by the laws. Another said, that the power of dispensing from the statutes rendered the prince incapable of being bound by any statute. Another, building upon that text of scripture, *I have said that ye are gods*, affirmed, that God has intrusted *absolute* princes with his supreme authority. Another carried the spirit of subserviency so far as to maintain, that all the possessions of the subjects belong to the sovereign, and that he may dispose of them as the revenues of the crown. The sentiments of liberty, which were already beginning to bud in men's minds, sometimes showed themselves ; but the parliament were not on that account less submissive to the will of Elizabeth.

Arbitrary tribunals showed the government to be really despotic. The *Star-chamber*, the members of which might be displaced at the pleasure of the court, took cognizance of all offences and disorders which had not been provided against by the common law. The

Extension
of the
prerogative.

Arbitrary
tribunals.

High Commission, as we have already observed, differed little from the Spanish Inquisition, whether we consider the design for which it was instituted, or its odious procedures. *Martial law*, which is necessary for the maintenance of military discipline, and subjects soldiers to the most speedy and rigorous justice, was on several occasions made use of against other persons. In a word, the English enjoyed only the shadow of that civil liberty which at present they make their boast, and which is not so great a happiness as they imagine, if it becomes a source of cabal and discord.

How
Elizabeth
supplied the
scantiness
of her
revenue.

The right of granting or refusing subsidies, and levying taxes, which is so inestimable a privilege to the nation, even at that time occasioned great abuses of the prerogative. Elizabeth, not having money to bestow as favours or rewards, lavished grants of exclusive privileges, and extended them even to the common and necessary articles of merchandise, which were consequently sold by a few interested individuals at their own price. It was therefore impossible that trade could flourish when thus a prey to monopolies. Besides, though the ordinary revenue of the crown exceeded five hundred thousand pounds sterling, the sovereign was necessitated to have recourse to forced loans, to *benevolences*, or compulsory gratuities, and other dangerous methods, which were looked upon as matters of right, but have since been suppressed as usurpations. In a word, without the most prudent economy, Elizabeth could not have supported the expenses of the state.

One thing which reflects the greatest honour on her memory is, that notwithstanding the exercise of an absolute authority, and a severity frequently rigorous, she was still beloved by her subjects. We have seen how she animated their zeal and courage for the defence of the kingdom; and the confidence which she professed to repose in them increased their attachment to her person. *I will never believe any thing of my people, said she, that fathers and mothers would not believe of their children.*

She was
beloved by
her
subjects.

Her vast political designs, like those of Henry IV., tended to humble the house of Austria. Both had formed the same plan, without any communication with one another; and they proposed an interview equally desired by each, but which the difficulties of adjusting the ceremonial unluckily prevented. However, Sully supplied his master's place in quality of ambassador. He has left the particulars of his conversation with the queen, in which we see that system of a balance between the powers of Europe, which afterwards made one of the principal foundations of general policy.

Her project
for
humbling
the house of
Austria.

James VI., king of Scotland, the first of that name in England, and nearest relation to Elizabeth, united the three kingdoms, which at present are called by the name of Great Britain. Mr Hume says, that all three were at that time of less value than Ireland alone is at this day; and Ireland was then, if I may use the expression, wretchedness itself. When the industry of man is roused by good laws, directed by the light of experience and reason,

The
three
kingdoms
united under
James L

what prodigious changes is it not capable of making in the world ! Of this the Dutch republic is a remarkable proof. Still poor and unhappy, it with difficulty defended its liberty against Spain. Sully negotiated in its favour with James, and a defensive league was made for the United Provinces, which soon grew to power.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

